The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i

Dennis Kawaharada

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Cover Photo: Japanese contract workers in shacks on plantation land in Wainaku on the Big Island of Hawai‘i, c. 1890

Back Cover: Photo mosaic of Hawaiian history

Okage Sama de

Makita (1926–1970) and Matsuko (1925–2020) Kawaharada,
for their lifetimes of support and my first visit to Japan in 1970;

Gunichi (1888–1962) and Koyuka (1896–1978). my maternal
grandparents

Makisō (1887-1953) and Harumi (1899-1999) Kawaharada, my
paternal grandparents, bridges to the ancestral homeland:

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The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i

> Our indigenous origin enables us to define what and who is indigenous, and what and who is not indigenous. We know who the First Nations people are since we were, historically, the first people in the Hawaiian archipelago. Only Hawaiians are Native to Hawai'i. Everyone else is a settler.
>
> —Haunani-Kay Trask, UH Professor of Hawaiian Studies "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" (2000)

> ... labeling Asian immigrant workers and their descendants as colonial "settlers" is ahistorical, narrow-minded, lacking in class analysis, and too simplistic to explain our complicated islands' society.
>
> —Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor, UH Professor of Ethnic Studies, *Honolulu Weekly* Interview (2009)

1. It Began with a "Strangely Disconnected Idea" ...

[Section 1 of 5, with 31 Subsections]

1.1

In "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" (2000), Hawaiian sovereignty activist, scholar, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask labeled residents of Asian ancestry in Hawai'i, pejoratively, "Settlers" (6). One of the targets of her anger was US Senator Daniel Inouye, who hadn't introduced legislation in Congress to support Native Hawaiian sovereignty. Another target was University of Hawai'i

(UH) English assistant professor Candace Fujikane, who claimed that locals of Asian ancestry in Hawai‘i belonged to a “local nation.” Trask called “local nation” “a fictitious socio-political entity” and a “strangely disconnected idea” (7), citing Fujikane’s 1994 essay “Between Nationalisms: Hawai‘i’s Local Nation and Its Troubled Racial Paradise” as a source of that strange notion (22, footnote 8).

Anyone who had researched Hawaiian history before writing about it would have known that only Native Hawaiians have a claim to a nation in Hawai‘i, based on the overthrow of their Kingdom by White Settlers in 1893 and the US annexation of the islands in 1898.

By 2000, Fujikane was Trask’s disciple and included “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony” in an anthology that she co-edited with UH Ethnic Studies professor Jonathan Okamura. The anthology, titled *Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i*, was published by *Amerasia Journal*, established in 1971 by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center. In the introduction to *Whose Vision?*, titled “Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i,” Fujikane retracts her earlier claim to a “local nation” and agrees with Trask that she and other residents of Asian ancestry in Hawai‘i are “Settlers.” A revised version of Trask’s essay was reprinted in 2008, in a second anthology edited by Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*.

In the 1990s, Fujikane’s “local nation” mimicked “Asian American Nation,” which Asian American activists, writers, and artists on the continent proclaimed in the 1980s as a cultural community separate from the White American Nation. “Asian American Nation” mimicked “Black American Nation,” which the Black Nationalist Movement of the 1960s and 1970s had proclaimed. In her 1995 UC Berkeley PhD dissertation (*Archipelagos of Resistance: Narrating Nation in Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Hawaii’s Local Literatures*), Fujikane contrasted Hawai‘i’s “Local nationalism” with Asian American nationalism and Native Hawaiian nationalism, each having a different political objective. That fall, Fujikane was hired on a tenure track to teach English at the UH.

In “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony,” Trask acknowledges that by 2000, Fujikane “appears to have some doubts about her earlier assertion of a ‘local nation’” (22, footnote 9), citing Fujikane’s 1997 essay “Reimagining Development and the Local in Lois-Ann Yamanaka’s Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre.” Fujikane confesses in that essay that her claim of a local nation promoted

"non-Hawaiian self-interests at the expense of Hawaiians in a way that empties the local of any meaning" (58). In her introduction to the 2000 *Whose Vision?* anthology, following Trask, Fujikane replaced "local nation" with the equally fictitious notion that "Asian Settlers" had come to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century to join White Settlers in subjugating Native Hawaiians, occupying their lands, and establishing a Settler Colony.

1.2

In 2008, when the University of Hawai'i Press published Fujikane and Okamura's second anthology (Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i), Trask's "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony," revised, was included again as the lead essay; it had apparently become the founding document of what might be called the Asian Settlers Club of Hawai'i, whose members wrote articles for the new anthology. In "Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," Fujikane explains that Asian Americans are not indigenous, and therefore have no right to a "local nation":

> ... Hawaiians have the right as indigenous peoples to form their own nation; populations considered "minorities" in the U.S. settler state, like the Japanese or the Vietnamese, do not possess this indigenous right to form their own separate nations in Hawai'i. (5)

Obviously. I don't know of anyone (other than Fujikane) who claimed that locals in Hawai'i had a nation or a right to a nation. However, in the 1990s, Fujikane and other Yonsei (fourth generation of Japanese ancestry), the descendants of Issei (the first generation), went to college on the continent and got the notion from Asian Americans that they were "oppressed" and needed to establish their own "nation" to resist the oppression. Fujikane explains,

> In 1994 I published an essay titled "Between Nationalisms: Hawaii's Local Nation and Its Troubled Racial Paradise." In it I argued that "local" Asians in Hawai'i who do not identify either with Asian nation-states or the United States imagine themselves as an unstable "Local Nation" predicated upon

> anxieties over the illegitimacy of their claims to Hawai‘i. Although my intent was to support Hawaiians, Haunani-Kay Trask incisively criticizes my use of the term “Local Nation” in her essay reprinted in this collection. (28-29)

Fujikane elaborates:

> I was attempting to create a ‘third space’ for Asians as another category of the oppressed in Hawai‘i …. The attempt to ally “Locals” with “Natives,” however, created the illusion of a “shared” struggle without acknowledging that Asians have come to constitute the very political system that has taken away from Natives their rights as indigenous peoples. (29)

Anyone who had researched Hawaiian history before writing about it would have known that it was absurd to claim in the 1990s that “locals” of Asian ancestry were “another category of the oppressed.” Yes, during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, Asian migrant workers and their descendants in Hawai‘i suffered various forms of discrimination and oppression; but by the 1940s, many of the descendants of Chinese migrant workers had entered the middle class; and during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, many of the descendants of Japanese migrant workers began joining them. After Hawai‘i became a US State in 1959, both ethnic groups were represented in the political and economic power structure of the State, along with Whites and Natives

In an essay in the late 1990s, I recalled my experiences with Asian Americans when I was in graduate school at the University of Washington in the late 1970s:

> While I understood their anger and outrage and was glad when later, those who were interned [during World War II] received a presidential apology and a symbolic reparation payment [hardly compensatory for the losses], I didn’t identify with the mainland Asian Americans because I didn’t feel victimized. While I experienced some prejudice in Hawai‘i while growing up, it didn’t make life oppressive and I didn’t feel disadvantaged; if anything, I felt privileged. (“Where to Go, What to Do” 80, in *Local Geography*, 2004).

However, acknowledging that I didn’t feel oppressed didn’t imply that

therefore, all residents of Asian ancestry supported the "political system that has taken away from Natives their rights as indigenous peoples." In fact, many Non-native residents supported Native self-determination in the 1970s. (See "5. Non-Natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After.")

1.3

In her 1995 PhD dissertation, Fujikane explained that "local nation" was a "cultural nation" and an "imagined political community," not a real nation. By then, the word "nation" was being used loosely, without any political meaning, to describe groups of people with a shared interest. For example, sports fans of the Oakland Raiders, an NFL football team, called themselves "Raider Nation." When I heard the phrase "local nation," I thought it referred to a sports fan club for UH athletic teams. However, "nation" was a red flag for Trask, who was outraged that an Asian Settler like Fujikane seemed to claim a land base in Hawai'i, a claim that Trask repudiated:

> If Hawaiians have a pre-contact, pre-invasion historical continuity on their aboriginal territories—that is, on the land that had been ours for two thousand years—"locals" do not. That is, "locals" have no indigenous land base, traditional language, culture, and history that is Native to Hawai'i. (6)

She added:

> Our indigenous origin enables us to define what and who is indigenous, and what and who is not indigenous. We know who the First Nations people are since we were, historically, the first people in the Hawaiian archipelago. Only Hawaiians are Native to Hawai'i. Everyone else is a settler. (6)

Fujikane notes in her introduction to the 2008 anthology that Trask first labeled Non-natives in Hawai'i as "settlers" in a "landmark keynote address delivered at the 1997 Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States (MELUS) Conference" (4). Trask was influenced by scholars of settler colonial studies, which became established as an academic field in the 1990s.

Ironically, Asian American activists and their White supporters of the 1970s and 80s who wanted to claim inclusion for Asians in

America argued that Asian migrants were not “sojourners” (“temporary residents”), but “settlers,” like Whites, and therefore, were “Asian Americans,” not immigrants or aliens. Back then, “settlers” could still be used as a term of praise. In *Sojourners to Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (1980), Clarence Glick, a White UH Sociology professor, claimed that when Chinese migrants to Hawai‘i left the plantations and moved to towns to take up trades or start businesses, they assimilated and became “settlers.” That claim may or may not be true for Chinese migrants to Hawai‘i, but it wasn’t true of the first generation of Japanese migrants, who didn’t assimilate or “settle”; they were resident aliens ineligible for US citizenship and, as Japanese citizens, maintained their language, religion, culture, and attachment to their families in Japan while working and residing in Hawai‘i. (See “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

By 2000, as a disciple of Trask’s, Fujikane repeated, without fact-checking, whatever Trask said or wrote. Based on Trask’s oversimplified and misleading either/or assertion (“Only Hawaiians are Native to Hawai‘i. Everyone else is a settler”), Fujikane began labeling herself and all Non-natives in Hawai‘i, since the nineteenth century, “settlers” and “colonizers,” while assuming that they were all participants in “Asian Settler Colonialism.”

1.4

What is “Settler Colonialism”? In “Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation,” UC Berkeley Ethnic Studies professor Evelyn Nakano Glenn describes settler colonialism:

> In settler colonialism, the object is to acquire land and to gain control of resources. To realize these ambitions, the first thing that must be done is to eliminate the indigenous occupants of the land. This can be accomplished in a variety of ways: genocide, forced removal from territories desired by white settlers, and confinement to reservations outside the boundaries of white settlement. It can also be accomplished through assimilation. Assimilation can be biological (e.g., through intermarriage to “dilute” indigenous blood) and/or cultural (e.g., by stripping indigenes of their culture and replacing it with settler culture).
>
> The second thing that must be done is to secure the land

> for settlers. This can be accomplished by imposing a modernist property regime that transforms land and resources (sometimes including people) into "things" that can be owned. This regime consists of such elements as mapping and marking boundaries to delimit an object that is to be owned, a system for recording ownership, and legal rules for ownership and sale of objects defined as property. Indigenous people generally understand the land and their relationship to it very differently, viewing themselves as being provided for by the land and in turn as living in harmony with the land and having a sense of responsibility for its welfare. Settler society does not recognize indigenous conceptions and from their own perspective of land as property, views indigenes as failing to make productive use of it. (57)

Another requirement for Settler Colonialism is control of governance. What often followed colonization was the establishment of a new nation, independent of the nation or nations from which the colonizers originated; such was the case with the US, Canada, Australia, and Israel. In some cases, settlers faced substantial resistance from large Native populations and retreated into enclaves, then withdrew and returned the land to the Natives, as was the case with India, China, and South Africa; there were simply too many Natives for the colonists to overwhelm and establish for themselves an independent colony and a permanent homeland.

1.5

In "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" (1984), Trask describes how the Settler Colonialism that Nakano Glenn outlines played out in the colonization of Hawai'i by White Settlers. Trask summarizes: "First through economic domination (beginning in 1810), and later through political incorporation (annexation in 1898), America came to control the lands and indigenous people of Hawaii" (101).

The colonization took place without the kind of armed attacks and genocide against Natives perpetrated by bands of White frontiersmen, pioneers, and cavalry in America; and also without the forced removal and confinement of Natives to "reservations" and the forced removal of Native children from their parents to assimilate them in White boarding schools. The Hawaiian Monarchy welcomed the newcomers

to reside in the islands and preach Christianity, start businesses, and participate in governance. Assimilation took place mainly through relentless but generally peaceful means of colonization—conversion of Natives to Christianity, intermarriage, and compulsory education in public schools. The public schools originally taught Native children in Hawaiian during the Kingdom, which then introduced English education; after the overthrow of the Kingdom in 1893, the White government mandated English-only education in public schools, with Native children punished for speaking Hawaiian.

Before the armed insurrection that overthrew the Kingdom, White political domination was established through increasingly aggressive persuasion rather than violence. In 1840, White Settlers persuaded Hawaiian leaders to convert the government from an Absolute Monarchy to a Constitutional Monarchy, so Whites could participate in governance. In 1854, White Settlers persuaded Native leaders to privatize land to encourage investment in plantations. Establishing private property enabled White Settlers to buy most of the best lands for sugar plantation agriculture. By 1887, a White Oligarchy, backed by an armed militia, had enough political power to force the Native Monarch to adopt a constitution that limited his powers and limited the Native vote, after which the White Settlers had control of the government. In 1893, with the threat of armed violence, Whites forced the abdication of the Queen, who wanted to avoid bloodshed and harm to her people and who believed that a friendly US government would restore her nation’s sovereignty. The White Settlers hoped, on the other hand, the US would annex Hawai‘i. When the US balked at annexation, the Settlers established a provisional government, then a Republic which they called, misleadingly, the “Republic of Hawai‘i.” Generally, “republic” refers to a nation governed by representatives elected by its people; Whites in Hawai‘i excluded the majority of Native residents from voting or holding office, making it an oligarchy. Thus, in this essay, I refer to what replaced the Hawaiian Kingdom as the Republic of White Oligarchs.

Before the nineteenth century ended, Hawai‘i was no longer a Native nation of farmers and fisherman ruled by a Native Monarch who held all the land in common for the well-being of the people. It was a Settler State with private property on which White Settlers had established vast plantations to produce sugar (and later pineapple) for export to the global market. Plantations were labor intensive, especially during planting and harvesting. Since there weren’t enough workers in

Hawai'i, the planters contracted workers from abroad, first from China, then Portugal and other European countries, then Japan—wherever they could find workers willing to come to Hawai'i as low-wage field laborers bound to plantations by contracts for five, then three years, after which the migrants were free to go back to their homelands (and many Japanese workers did, while other stayed because they were allowed to remain as resident aliens and to continue working).

1.6

According to Fujikane's myth, the Asian migrant workers who came to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century became "settlers" once "they entered into a settler colony" (7). However, the nineteenth-century Asian migrants didn't enter a settler colony; they were recruited by the Hawaiian Monarchy and came to the Kingdom with its permission to work under contract.

The Japanese who arrived didn't come to join a colony or make it a permanent home. They came with three-year contracts to earn money to send to their families in Japan, intending to return there once the contracts were over. At the time, farmers in Japan were losing their lands because they couldn't pay land taxes after the government privatized land in 1873 and began requiring owners to pay taxes in cash rather than a percentage of the rice harvest. When the price of rice dropped or the harvest was poor, the farming families struggled to pay the tax and had to find jobs to earn cash, or risk losing their lands. Many farmers or their children left their farms to find jobs in towns and cities where new industries were developing to modernize the nation. In 1885, the Meiji government negotiated a treaty with the Kingdom of Hawai'i to allow Japanese workers to go there to earn cash as contract laborers on plantations; thousands from struggling farming families signed up to go. In 1893, the governor of Hiroshima, the prefecture from which the largest number of workers came, described their purpose:

> You, 'Dekasegi emigrants,' who are now leaving your most beloved parents, wives, and children behind, are going to cross 3,000 miles of ocean to that far-away foreign country with the sole purpose of earning and saving money in order to return home someday to live comfortably (qtd. in Kimura 5). ["Dekasegi" (出稼ぎ) means "Leaving home to earn an income abroad." For a more detailed story of the Hawaiian Kingdom's

recruitment of Japanese contract labor, see “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i.”]

Nakano Glenn notes, “Settler colonists do not envision a return home. Rather, they seek to transform the new colony into ‘home’” (“Settler Colonialism as Structure” 57). Still, Fujikane insists that the Japanese migrant workers were settler colonists, “however temporary or permanent they imagined that settlement to be” (7) “Temporary settlement?” An oxymoron? Although “settlement” can be used loosely, the most common definition implies “permanent,” as in “to move to a new place with the intention to stay there.”

The migrant workers’ plan to return home wasn’t “*imagined*,” as Fujikane imagines. The three-year contracts were real, as was the migrant workers’ intention to return home after the contracts terminated. They were housed temporarily on plantation land that Whites bought from Natives. In the end, less than half of the Japanese migrant workers who came to Hawai‘i stayed; the majority returned to Japan or moved to the West Coast to look for jobs with higher wages.

After Hawai‘i became a US Territory in 1900, the plantations continued to recruit Japanese migrant workers. Unlike White who settled the continental US, the Japanese workers who moved off the plantations weren’t given free land, taken from Natives, to homestead and settle. They started businesses or took up trades, and if they earned enough money, they bought or leased land from White and Native owners. They were allowed to remain as resident aliens to earn money and pay taxes for whatever amenities they accessed or used. Whites and Natives, who controlled the Territorial government, could have, if it wanted to, prevented aliens from buying or leasing land, as Western States in America did, to prevent Asians from staying.

The migrants also didn’t participate in governance because they weren’t eligible to become citizens. They knew that as aliens, their residency could be terminated by the government if they were no longer needed, or if they engaged in any activity that might be considered illegal or traitorous. (For a fuller history of the first generation of Japanese ancestry in the US Territory of Hawai‘i, see in “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

1.7

So why did Trask label everyone not a Native in Hawai'i a "Settler," when not everyone who arrived in Hawai'i came to "settle," and the descendants of the migrants who ended up staying were born here and didn't come from somewhere else? Trask uses "Settler" as a gloss for "American," with the premise that Settler Colonialism is fundamental to the history and identity of all who call themselves American, including Asian Americans. After British settlers colonized the East Coast of North America in the seventeenth century and established a nation of thirteen colonies in 1776, their descendants, along with millions of new European immigrants who followed them in the nineteenth century, moved Westward across the continent, invading and occupying Native lands and killing, pacifying, and segregating or assimilating Natives. The newcomers had come to stay, with no intention of returning home to Europe; in other words, they were Settlers.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the American colonial expansion reached the Pacific Ocean. In 1845, the US annexed Texas, and in 1846, it claimed and established the Oregon Territory, which became the states of Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming. After winning the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), the US acquired a vast area of former Native territories that included what became the states of California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, most of Arizona and Colorado, as well as parts of Oklahoma, Kansas, and Wyoming. California became the thirty-first State in 1850, completing the American conquest and occupation of Native lands in the first forty-eight states, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In 1867, the US purchased Alaska, which had been taken from Native tribes and colonized by Russia.

In 1845, the American newspaper writer John L. O'Sullivan (1813-1895) exclaimed enthusiastically that the Westward Expansion was "the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." "Manifest Destiny" became the motto of the Westward Expansion, which eventually extended into and across the Pacific Ocean, when Hawai'i, the Philippines, and Guam became US territories in 1898. O'Sullivan exclamatory declaration alluded to Genesis 1.28 in the Bible:

> God blessed them [that is, Adam and Eve, the first White

> Christian male and female] and told them, “Be fertile and multiply, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on the earth.”

For racist White Christian Americans, “things that creep on the earth” included all Non-white people—Native Americans, Blacks, Chicanos, Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chamorros, Asian migrant workers, and Asians, Africans, and Central and South Americans.

As Trask implies, American history is a history of Settler Colonialism, so anyone who self-identifies as American, including Asian Americans, is a Settler. White Americans generally pride themselves on having ancestors who were Settlers, and embrace and celebrate American Settler history, traditions, and values.

1.8

Fujikane and her Asian Settler Club embrace the term “Settler” because they’ve been assimilated in American schools and colleges and identify themselves as American, or Asian American. Three generations removed from their alien great grandparents, these Yonsei (fourth generation) apparently found it easy and comfortable to follow Trask’s directive to change their identity from “Asian American” to “Asian Settler.” Educated by White and Asian American scholars who promoted an assimilationist history of Japanese migrant workers in America, the Yonsei don’t know much about the actual history of their ancestors in Hawai‘i.

Scholars unable to do research in Japanese sources don’t know the full story of Japanese migrants. Today, an English-only reader can get some details of the motivations, intentions, hopes, and dreams of their ancestors from works published in English by bilingual scholars like Eiichirō Azuma, Masayo Umezawa Duus, Yukiko Kimura, and Manako Ogawa. (See “Sources” for their works.) Also helpful are interviews of the Issei themselves. However, most Sansei (third generation of Japanese ancestry) like me and Yonsei like Fujikane and her club aren’t fluent in Japanese and can’t conduct such interviews. The Yonsei in the Asian Settlers Club may have never met their great grandparents.

When I interviewed my paternal grandmother on Maui in 1995 (when she was 96 years old and the only grandparent still alive), I took one of my Japanese students as an interpreter and as translator for

the documents Grandma gave me. Although I never met my paternal grandfather, Makisō Kawaharada, who passed away when I was two years old and living with my parents on Guam, Grandma told me about his life. From our visits to Dad's family home in Kuiaha, on Maui, during the summers of my childhood, adolescence, and undergraduate college years, I knew the restaurant and home Grandpa and Grandma built there. I met my maternal grandfather only once, in Hilo, but interviewed my mom about his life and her mom's life while writing family histories in the 1990s. The grandparent I knew the best was my maternal grandmother, who baby-sat me and my two siblings in the 1950s, and who, for the last four years of her life, lived with Mom, so Mom could take care of her.

Later, to learn more details of my grandparents' emigration and their lives in Hawai'i as resident aliens in the first half of the twentieth century, I consulted historical documents—alien passenger lists compiled by the US immigration office; US census reports from 1910–1940; local city directories from those three decades, which contained the addresses of my grandparents' residences and businesses; passenger lists that recorded their travels to and from Japan; and transcripts and files declassified by the US Immigration and Naturalization Service about the hearing and imprisonment of my maternal grandfather as an enemy alien during World War II, and about his subsequent travels between Hawai'i and Japan, where he returned after the war to earn money for his family in Hawai'i and help with the post-war reconstruction of his homeland. The transcript of the US government's hearing to designate him as an enemy alien provided details about his business and community activities before the war, and how he perceived them vs. how the government perceived them.

I don't identify my grandparents as "Settlers" because I know from my research that they weren't settlers. I don't call myself "American," or identify with the American Settler traditions of pilgrims, frontiersmen, pioneers, cavalrymen, wagon trainers, homesteaders, cowboys, and so on who colonized the continental US; or the missionaries who came Hawai'i to convert Natives, which laid the groundwork for colonization. While growing up, we read books and watched TV programs and movies about American colonists and settlers; and we played Cowboys vs. Indians and GIs vs. Japs and Nazis with the neighborhood kids, but only up to around the fourth grade, after which, as I learned more and more about my family, I began to identify more and more strongly with my parents and grandparents, who were my real ancestors.

On the other hand, while Fujikane tries to suggest a nominal connection to her ancestors and ancestral culture by identifying herself an “Asian Settler,” nothing in her writing suggests that she knows much about them. As she admits, she’s among those Asian Americans who grow up without identifying with “Asian nation-states” like Japan. The descendants of the White American Settlers who occupied, settled, and founded America, however, might find it odd (if not laughable, or even offensive) that a descendant of Asian migrant workers who had no part in establishing the Settler State or participating in its governance would claim to belong to the proud lineage of true American Settlers.

1.9

Following Trask, Fujikane labels all the descendants of Asian migrant workers “Settlers”—another “strangely disconnected idea.” A “settler” is a person who comes from another place to someplace new; on the other hand, the descendants of Asian migrants in Hawai‘i, like my parents, were born here.

Trask occasionally refers to those born here somewhat more accurately as “children of settlers” or “descendants of settlers,” but since the Issei weren’t settlers, that’s not accurate either. “Non-natives” is more accurate; to revise Trask’s either/or statement as a tautology (which it is) “Only Hawaiians are Native to Hawai’i. Everyone else is Non-native.”

For Native scholars and activists of Trask’s generation (coming of age during the 1970s), identifying themselves as Native distinguished them from residents of White and Asian ancestry. Their lands and sovereignty were taken at the end of the nineteenth century, but in the 1970s, they initiated a push for the restoration of a nation. (See Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O‘ahu.”) Along with the sovereignty movement, enough Native families passed on their language and cultural traditions to their descendants, and enabled them to lead and nurture a linguistic and cultural resurgence, which many Non-natives supported. (See “5. Non-Natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After”; also, McGregor, *Nā Kua’āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*.)

1.10

In my freshman year at the University of Hawai‘i (1969–1970), a

student from Hong Kong (we worked together as operators at the East-West Center switchboard) was assigned to conduct a survey on identity for her Sociology 100 class. One question was whether I considered myself Japanese or American. Over two decades later, in the 1990s, while writing about my undergraduate years, I recalled her question and my response: "The question struck me as odd. I told her I was neither [Japanese nor American]. 'I'm local … local Japanese.' I felt the pull of place more than race, and nation less than either." ("Where to Go, What to Do" 59, in *Local Geography*):

The question struck me as odd because it was a White person's perspective (my co-worker's professor's?), from the World War II era. Because of the war between the US and Japan, citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry were pressured to declare whether they were Japanese or American (both, or neither, were not options). Later, during the 1980s, the term "Japanese American" became commonly used for citizens of Japanese ancestry, but this "both-and" term didn't express who I was because I identified as neither Japanese nor American.

While I was growing up, my Nisei (second generation) parents didn't instill in their three children a "proud to be American" identity. In fact, I sensed, from what was never said, that my parents weren't patriotic, and neither were my grandparents. We never celebrated Independence Day on July 4 or any other patriotic holiday, never attended a military parade. My parents and grandparents never displayed the Stars and Stripes, inside or outside the house. We knew our ancestors had no role in taking land from Native Americans or Hawaiians or in establishing America or the US Territory of Hawai'i. On the other hand, my grandparents and parents weren't Japanese nationalists either, and didn't display at home the Rising Sun flag or a portrait of the Emperor.

The primary identity was family—Dad's Kawaharada family from Maui and Mom's Kuwahara family from Hilo, both grandparents from small towns in Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan. I could depend on my parents and their families for help if or when I needed it. On the other hand, the American government or Non-family individuals or groups might help, but we couldn't and shouldn't trust or depend on them, especially strangers; they could stop giving, take away whatever they gave, or take whatever you had or earned. In the second grade, at recess, a boy whom I didn't know asked to "borrow" a small collection of three or four rubber bugs that Mom bought for me from a nickel dispenser at the local market; he promised to meet me at the same place the next day to give them back. I never saw him again.

Trust in family turned out well for me during my lifetime. I could trust my grandparents, parents, and older brother; and in turn, they could trust and depend on me. The greatest influences on my identity were Dad and Mom, especially Mom, who outlived Dad by almost five decades. Both were role models who encouraged, guided, supported, and inspired me in my efforts, endeavors, and adventures. My brother was also a great help and influence. For my first twenty-two years, through high school and college we attended the same schools, and I hung out with him and did what he and his friends did. Not everyone had a good family experience. Among my generation and the generations that followed, many (including my parents' daughter) turned into Americans; they believed in individualism and went their own way. What made them that way wasn't family or ancestral traditions; instead, they were assimilated Americans, taught in schools and by the media to believe that they could make themselves into whomever they wanted to become, including Settlers. My brother and I haven't communicated with my parents' daughter in over a decade, and have no need to since she is an individual free to become whoever she wants to be and isn't a part of the family. (Mom disinherited her.)

My dad was drafted and served in the US Army after World War II ended, so luckily, he wasn't caught up in the celebratory White propaganda about how Nisei soldiers were such good Americans because despite the prejudices they faced growing up in a US Territory, they fought for America and "proved" they were loyal Americans. White writers who found the Nisei military service admirable promoted the story in books, magazine and newspaper articles, movies, and TV programs; and some of the Nisei bought into the flattering story. Dad, on the other hand, never talked about his military service. When I learned that before, during, and after World War II, White American racists discriminated against and demonized Non-whites, including my grandparents and parents, I understood why our family wasn't patriotic. Both my grandfathers, legal, law-abiding resident aliens, were arrested and imprisoned as enemy aliens during World War II. Two of my dad's older sisters, and one of my mom's brothers were expelled from their residences on the West Coast where they were attending college, and sent to detention centers for relocation. One of my cousins was born in the detention center in Gila River, Arizona.

George Bernard Shaw defined patriotism as "a conviction that a particular country is the best in the world because you were born in it"; that is, the best whether it was right or wrong, even when someone

pointed out what was wrong; or when people realized they might be demonized and expelled from their homes or imprisoned or worse, based on their ancestry. A country is only as good as the kind of people who control the government, police, and military. (Thanks to Zadie Smith’s “Speaking in Tongues” for Shaw’s definition; of course patriotism may be defined differently by someone else.)

During the 1960s and 70s, when the US government began a draft to get soldiers to send to Vietnam, Dad and Mom didn’t want their two sons to serve, and neither did we; and we didn’t. (See subsections 5.4–5.7 in “5. Non-Natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After.”)

1.11

One American tradition in which my parents participated was voting, and they encouraged their children to take an interest in politics because they believed that politicians in the multiethnic, working-class Democratic Party of Hawai‘i generally promoted and protected our families’ interests while the White businessmen who ran the Republican Party and the Hawaiian politicians who supported their interests generally worked against us. (For the story of the multiethnic Democratic Party’s post-World War II takeover of governance in Hawai‘i from the White Republican Party and its Native supporters, which dominated the US Territory for its first fifty years, see “4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.”)

During the 1968 presidential election, when neither the Democrat Hubert Humphery (backed by labor unions, but supportive of the Vietnam War) nor the Republican Richard Nixon seemed particularly appealing, I mentioned to Dad that maybe third-party candidate and former governor of Alabama George Wallace might be an alternative. Back then, I had an odd residual allegiance to Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and the Confederacy, from reading White Southern propaganda when I was a Civil War buff in elementary school.

Wallace is remembered for standing in a doorway at the University of Alabama to block the enrollment of Black students; he chose as his running mate retired US Air Force General Curtis (“Bomb-[the North Vietnamese]-Back-into-the Stone-Age”) LeMay. Dad told me Wallace wasn’t a good man. Dad would know better than I would—he had been to Alabama for basic training after World War II, when housing,

schools, businesses, and public services were segregated, so that Whites wouldn't have to interact with the descendants of the Slaves whom White traders brought to America and sold to White plantation owners. I found out later that LeMay commanded the air raids that killed hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians in World War II, which Koizumi and Igarashi describe as genocide ("From LeMay to Trump"). Fortunately, in 1968, I was too young to vote. Fortunately, in 1968, I was too young to vote.

Dad told me he wouldn't vote for Wallace or Nixon; he and Mom voted for Humphery, who lost to "I-Am-Not-a-Crook" Nixon, who was impeached in 1973, at the beginning of his second term for orchestrating a burglary and illegal wiretapping of the Democratic Party headquarters to gain an advantage in the election. Earlier in 1968, anti-war Democratic candidate Robert Kennedy and Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King were assassinated. As Paul Simon sang that year in "Mrs. Robinson":

Sitting on a sofa on a Sunday afternoon
Going to the candidates debate
Laugh about it, shout about it
When you've got to choose
Every way you look at it, you lose ....

1.12

Although my parents got along with people of all ethnicities at work and in the community, they invited only family members and Nisei friends to their two annual parties, on New Year's Eve and on Thanksgiving. The two holidays are traditionally celebrated in Japan. The New Year celebration was the most important of the year, traditionally a week-long holiday in Japan, to get rid of the negativity of the old year and start afresh. We celebrated with fireworks to drive off evil spirits on the Eve and pounded and ate mochi (sticky rice cakes), fried or in broth, on New Year's Day to encourage the family to stick together in the coming year. The dinner on the Eve was mainly traditional Japanese food, like aku and ahi sashimi and steamed snapper (preferably a red snapper, onaga in Japanese or ʻulaʻula in Hawaiian); Dad caught whatever fish we ate in Kāneʻohe Bay. We also ate nishime (lotus root, burdock root, bamboo shoots, carrots, sweet peas, seaweed, and other vegetables simmered in chicken broth); kazunoko (herring

eggs for fertility and prosperity); kuromame (black beans for good health); namasu (cucumber and other vegetables in sweetened vinegar), and so on.

A couple of weeks before the New Year Eve and Day celebrations, we had a Christmas tree and decorated it with lights and fake icicles. The children enjoyed the lights and opening the presents under the tree. I wasn't Christian, and wondered what the materialistic tradition had to do with the religion. As we got older, on December 25, we continued to have family dinners and exchange gifts (a Japanese tradition for bonding family and community), but the day itself was a family occasion with no religious significance.

Thanksgiving in Japan is a rice-harvest celebration held traditionally on 11.23 of the lunar calendar, now on November 23 on the Gregorian calendar. For the original celebration, the Emperor shared the first harvested rice with the deities in preparation for the next growing season. We didn't learn about this celebration from our grandparents or in school; instead we learned the traditions of the American Thanksgiving. However, our family Thanksgiving lunch had nothing to do with celebrating the Pilgrims' first year of survival on Native land in Massachusetts. Our family simply took the opportunity of a State and Federal holiday to have a gathering of uncles, aunts, cousins, and friends; we ate roasted turkey, corn, and pumpkin pie because it was cheap and plentiful in stores, but we also ate rice, sashimi, and dishes like nishime, namasu, and chicken hekka (a stew of chicken, water cress, bamboo shoots, mushrooms, tofu, and thin bean noodles), which I'm sure the descendants of Pilgrims never heard of or tasted.

One year, Dad decided to invite a coworker and his wife, both from Germany, to the Thanksgiving lunch. He had met the German when their company, Radio Corporation of America (RCA), sent them to work in Japan together. Soon after Thanksgiving, when Dad's technical workers union went on strike, Dad served as a picket captain; the German turned out to be a scab. After that I never saw the German or his wife again. The company broke the strike, so Dad quit his job and was hired as a public school teacher in electronics at Roosevelt High School in Honolulu.

1.13

I use the term "American" to refer to White Christian descendants of Europeans who came to colonize and occupy Native lands in

America and Hawai‘i or to join a nation based on European culture and traditions; I also use the term to refer to Non-whites, both Non-Natives and Natives, who identify with the White Christian descendants of Europeans and their culture.

The primary agent for Americanization of Natives and immigrants, and the children of Natives, immigrants, and aliens was education in school. In the first grade at Ben Parker Elementary School in Kāne‘ohe, we memorized the Pledge of Allegiance and recited it every school-day morning until high school, facing the Stars and Stripes at the front of the classroom, with our right hand on our hearts, to “affirm” that we were loyal to “one nation under God.”

It was rote recitation, akin to brainwashing, and had no meaning to me, since I didn’t believe in God, and so couldn’t have been pledging allegiance to “one nation under God.” In high school Civics class, I wondered what “separation of Church and State” meant when the Pledge assumed that everyone reciting it believed in God. By then, I was aware that it was commonplace for Americans to contradict themselves and do things contrary to their stated values and beliefs whenever it was in their self-interest to do so. (For more about how public education in Hawai‘i promoted Americanization, see subsections 4.55–4.59 in “4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.”)

1.14

My grandparents didn’t assimilate in the US Territory. Like most Issei, they didn’t intermarry; my grandfathers brought picture brides from Japan. They didn’t convert to Christianity; they established Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines in Hawai‘i where they continued to practice their ancestral religions. They also established Japanese language schools to pass on the language to their children. (See subsections 3.38–3.49 in “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

My mom became a Christian during high school after the US government arrested her father as an enemy alien and imprisoned him for four years (1942–1946). She introduced her children to Christianity when we were in elementary school by taking us to Sunday School at a Methodist Church in Kailua, and later in Kāne‘ohe, where we lived, after a new Methodist church was built there. She also taught Sunday School classes. However, none of her children was interested in

Christianity, so by intermediate school, she stopped taking us to church, and also stopped going herself.

During elementary school, I decided the stories in the Bible, like the fairy tales and fables we read, were make-believe; they were set in far-off, unrecognizable places, with characters with unrecognizable names, and events not related to the real world. God, Hell and Heaven, Virgin Birth, Resurrection, and Salvation were fictions; worship and prayers were useless. I didn't see why I needed to ask for Forgiveness and seek Salvation from a White guy with long brown hair and a beard, nailed to a cross. He didn't look like my parents or grandparents, who didn't come from the Garden of Eden; they came from Japan. Since Adam and Eve weren't my ancestors, I wasn't implicated in Original Sin and didn't need Forgiveness. I found it strange when some of my Sansei high school classmates formed a Christian club, and a couple of them even taught Sunday School and became Christian ministers after they graduated.

My mom wasn't one to project or impose her beliefs on others, including her children, and never displayed or kept a Cross or a picture of Jesus in our house. Although she gave us Bibles when we went to Sunday School, after we moved from our house, and Mom moved into an apartment where she lived alone after Dad's passing, I don't recall seeing a Bible there. Next to her bed, on a table, she kept a butsudan (small Buddhist altar) next to which she had photos of Dad and her father, and later her five siblings and her mother, all of whom she outlived.

1.15

In my recollection of the Sociology 100 survey in my freshman year of college, I wrote, "If I had known Hawaiian back in college, I might have told [my co-worker from Hong Kong] I was 'Kepanī'—the indigenous term for settlers from Japan" ("Where to Go, What to Do" 59). I used the phrase "settlers from Japan" to define "Kepanī" because back then, I thought the Japanese, like other American immigrants, had come to Hawai'i to settle and establish families in a new homeland. That was the myth we were taught in school, which turned the story of the Japanese migrant workers into the story of White American Settlers.

I used the word "settlers" literally, to mean "someone who moves to a new place with the intention to stay there." By that definition, Natives were also settlers, having migrated to Hawai'i from the South Pacific to

establish a permanent homeland. If the islands were uninhabited when they arrived 2,000 years ago, they might be called the First Settlers, although the preferred designation now is “First People.”

Knowing what I know now, I would revise my sentence in my recollection to read: “If I had known Hawaiian back in college, I might have told my co-worker that was ‘Kepanī’—the indigenous term for ‘people of Japanese ancestry.’”

1.16

When I told my co-worker I was “local Japanese,” I used “local” literally, to mean I was raised in Hawai‘i and lived here since I was two years old. (The Latin root of “local,” “locus,” means simply “of a place.”) In the 1960s and 70s, the antonym of “local” wasn’t “native” (as it became for Trask), but “transient.” “Transients” referred to Whites from the continent who weren’t born or raised here and didn’t plan to stay long, like tourists who stayed in hotels and hippies who camped on beaches where they could “live off the land” for free, temporarily. Whites who decided to stay longer or settle were called “transplants.” Back then, Non-white “locals” wanted to distinguish themselves from “transients” and “transplants.”

I avoid calling myself “local” today because, like “settler,” it’s become politicized by Fujikane’s claim of a “local nation” and Trask’s response to it in “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony: ‘Locals‘ in Hawai‘i”:

> Today, modern Hawai’i, like its colonial parent the United States, is a settler society. Our Native people and territories have been overrun by non-Natives, including Asians. Calling themselves “local,” the children of Asian settlers greatly outnumber us. They claim Hawai’i as their own, denying indigenous history, their long collaboration in our continued dispossession, and the benefits therefrom (2).

She adds, “Part of this denial is the substitution of the term ‘local’ for ‘immigrant,’ which is itself a particularly celebrated American gloss for ‘settler.’”

“Local,” of course, has the opposite meaning of “immigrant.” An immigrant is from another country or place; a “local” is born in or has resided in a particular place for a long time. But Trask saw

Yonsei Fujikane's claim of a "local nation" as equivalent to what White European immigrants who arrived in America did, which was to claim a new homeland on land that once belonged to Natives. Hence Trask viewed "local" as a substitute for "immigrant," and both were synonymous with "settler."

"Of Color" in the title of Trask's essay "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" is another term I avoid. The term "colored" was originally used in the nineteenth century to identify people of mixed African descent. Most Blacks in America (like most Native Hawaiians) are of mixed blood. In the 1960s other Non-white minorities—e.g., Reds, Browns, and Yellows—adopted "People of Color" to identify themselves as racially oppressed and in solidarity with Blacks.

I prefer "Non-white" as a self-description rather than "person of color" because the history of Blacks in America differs significantly from the histories of Reds, Browns, and Yellows. As a category, "People of Color" blurs the differences. Some object that "Non-white" makes "White" the standard; but "White" may also used pejoratively, so "Non-white" may be used positively, or simply descriptively, which is how I use the term. I add "of Japanese ancestry" to "Non-white" or "Non-native" to describe myself today.

A friend of Japanese ancestry from Kohala whom I met when I was in graduate school in Seattle in the late 1970s used to laugh about Asian Americans there who had to "preface" themselves when they met anyone for the first time because everyone was so self-conscious about identity in a socio-political environment hypersensitive about identity labels. By the 1990s, Hawai'i had reached the same level of identity sensitivity and labeling that the rest of America had, especially after ancestry became the basis for benefits and claims.

1.17

When Trask writes that "immigrant" is "a particularly celebrated American gloss for 'settler," she is referring to clichés used by some writers and politicians who call America (including Hawai'i) a "nation of immigrants" (2), and who assert, "we are all immigrants" (7), self-identifying as immigrants because their ancestors were immigrants. The millions of immigrants who came from Europe to America in the nineteenth century came to settle and join a nation established by Anglo Saxons and work in its expanding industrial and agricultural economy.

As the Statue of Liberty, standing in New York Harbor, proclaimed to Europe: “Give me your tired, your poor, / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free, / The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. / Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me, / I lift my lamp beside the golden door!” “Homeless,” the immigrants intended to make America their new home. While many faced discrimination from the descendants of Anglo-Saxon Protestant settlers, US law allowed the new White immigrants to become naturalized citizens, and many did, so they could participate in governance and assimilate.

The workers who came from Japan to Hawai‘i in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century were different. They were recruited as temporary plantation workers by the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, the Republic of White Oligarchs (1894–1900) and the US Territory of Hawai‘i (1900–1959) up until 1924, when the US banned Japanese from entering America. The Japanese workers who came knew they weren’t eligible for citizenship in the Republic or the Territory, but it didn’t matter to them because their purpose was to earn money overseas to send home. Many migrant workers stayed after their three-year contracts terminated because they were allowed to stay longer to work or start businesses; and because economic and political conditions in Japan made returning less attractive than remaining as resident aliens working in Hawai‘i.

1.18

According to Fujikane, all Non-natives who don’t identify themselves as “Settlers,” as she and her club members do, are merely trying to disavow the colonizing act (7). To support her claim, she quotes the Post-colonial Studies scholars Johnston and Lawson, who write that Settlers have engaged in “a strategic disavowal of the colonizing act” by obfuscating their origins as “colonizer or settlers-invader” (“Settler Colonies” 365). However, when the two jargon-slinging White scholars write that “Settlers are colonizers in an ineluctable historical and continuing relationality to indigenes and indigeneity” (365), they understand (unlike Fujikane) that the “relationality” of “colonizers” to “indigenes” is between those with political power who occupy and control Native lands while oppressing the Natives who once controlled the land. Since the Issei didn’t have any political power or control, they weren’t colonizers or settlers; and their descendants may or may not be “colonizers” depending on whether or not after gaining some

political and economic power, they denied access to that power to Natives or refused to support Native self-determination or the revival of Native language and culture during what Trask calls the Modern Hawaiian Movement. (See "5. Non-Natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After.")

Johnston and Lawson use the phrase "disavowal of the colonizing act" to refer specifically to the actions of settlers after they occupied Native lands and established new "post-colonial" nations. The settler-citizens of the new nations had to fabricate a new national character and culture for themselves to displace Natives and Native culture ("Settler Colonies" 365). For example, after gaining independence from Britain and establishing new nations, British colonists created new identities for themselves as Americans, Canadians, and Australians. The new identities required that they write new national histories and literatures. (Trask recognized that Fujikane was attempting to establish one such new identity by proclaiming a "local nation" in Hawai'i.)

Johnston and Lawson also note that some Settlers, instead of simply denying or ignoring the existence of Natives and their culture, attempted to become "Non-native Natives" in a paradoxical form of the "disavowal of the colonizing act." The two scholars describe how British and other Settlers tried to present themselves as "White Natives" in the new nations they established:

> That new national identity might also incorporate elements of Native culture as a way of displacing it. Increasingly, the white settlers referred to themselves and their culture as indigenous; they cultivated native attributes and skills (the Mounties, cowboys, range-riders, gauchos, backwoods-men), and in this way cemented their legitimacy, their own increasingly secure sense of moral, spiritual, and cultural belonging in the place they commonly (and revealingly) described as "new." (363)

1.19

Whites colonized Hawai'i differently than America and other nations that were former British colonies. After the missionaries succeeded in converting the Natives, they ended their mission and turned the Church over to the Natives. However, while some of the missionaries returned home, other stayed and started businesses and families. When the children who stayed established sugar plantations, they urged

the Kingdom to negotiate a reciprocity treaty with America, so the plantations would acquire a huge tariff-free market for their sugar. In return for a reciprocity treaty, however, the US wanted the Kingdom to cede Pearl Harbor for use as an American naval base, in anticipation of its westward expansion across the Pacific and into Asia.

The Native Monarchy resisted ceding any part of the islands to a foreign country. The White Settlers realized that in order to get a reciprocity treaty, they needed to take control of the government, so they did, eventually overthrowing the Monarchy. Their goal, however, was not to establish a new nation and a new identity as White Hawaiians. Their goal was to persuade America to annex the islands, after which Whites who had become citizens of the Kingdom to take over governance would become Americans again. The colonizers established the Republic of White Oligarchs only because the anti-annexationist politicians in control of America at the time of the overthrow refused to annex the islands. After four years, when the political climate in America changed, the White Settlers achieved their annexation goal and became US citizens again. (See “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i.”)

Generally, White colonizers in Hawai‘i, like those in America, didn’t disavow their colonizing act. They celebrated the overthrow of the Monarchy and annexation because they believed American culture was superior to Native culture, which they openly disparaged. The Settlers also believed that by establishing plantations for profits and enriching themselves, they were making better use of the islands than the Natives had, that is, in keeping with the way their White God intended the islands to be used.

1.20

In the twentieth century, some descendants of the nineteenth-century missionaries who disparaged Native culture as “primitive,” and some newly arrived White Settlers, nostalgic for a pre-capitalist world, began to romanticize Natives and their culture and tried to claim a “Non-native Native” identity, similar to what Johnston and Lawson describe as “a disavowal of the colonizing act.” In “Writing in Captivity: Poetry in a Time of De-Colonization,” Trask identifies the practice as identity theft:

> Tellingly, some non-Hawaiians assert they are Hawaiian writers and their work, part of the canon of Hawaiian literature. Those

> who compose in Hawaiian but are not genealogically Hawaiian are particularly insistent on this point. Here, an immigrant/settler consciousness is attempting to dispossess our Native people by the back door of identity theft. (53)

Trask adds:

> Contemporary writers, who claim through generational residence in Hawai'i that they are Hawaiian or representative of what would be a unique national literature of Hawai'i if we were an independent country, confuse the development and identification of our indigenous literature. Asian writers who grew up in Hawai'i and purvey their work as representative of Hawaiian literature or of our islands generally are the most obvious example. (53)

Contrary to what Trask implies, however, none of the writers of Asian ancestry I knew called their writings "Hawaiian literature." All of them were clear that "Hawaiian literature" was written by Natives, in Hawaiian or in English; and that people of Asian ancestry were different from Natives. In fact, those who were assimilated and Americanized by public schools and the media, and who saw themselves as American or Asian American accepted the Western stereotype of Hawaiians and their culture and literature as "primitive" (and therefore inferior) and were prejudiced against them. For example, after I published an essay in 2004 ("*Local Geography*") advocating that Hawaiian literature be taught in public schools, a Nisei emailed me that he disagreed with my suggestion because students who studied Hawaiian literature would end up with a "coconut education" that would limit their ability to succeed nationally or internationally.

However, while the Non-native writers I knew didn't claim that their works were "Hawaiian literature," we called what we wrote "local literature" or "Hawai'i's literature"—implying as Trask notes, our writings were "of our islands generally," which they were. A literary journal I worked for called itself *Bamboo Ridge, The Hawaii Writers' Quarterly*. In the 1990s and early 2000s, I used the term "local literature" for the writings of people who grew up in Hawai'i (including Natives), as opposed to "Hawaiian literature," which was written only by Natives. However, words are used and understood so loosely today, "local literature" and "Hawai'i's literature" are easily confused with

"Hawaiian literature," as Trask argues, so I avoid both terms and refer to what I write simply as "my writing." If someone needs to label it, what might work is "the writings of a resident of Japanese ancestry living in Hawai'i since 1953 and born in the US Territory of Guam in 1951, where my Nisei dad and mom went to work after the war." The more specifically one identifies oneself, the better.

Family Portrait: Dad with my brother and Mom with me, in the US Territory of Guam

1.21

I wrote about the details of my ancestry when I published two collections of essays, *Storied Landscapes: Hawaiian Literature and Place* (1999) and *Local Geography: Essays on Multicultural Hawai'i* (2004). Still, some readers thought that I was part-Native because I wrote about and also published out-of-print, public domain works of Hawaiian literature translated into English to make the stories available to teachers and students in multiethnic classrooms. The false assumption was that someone who researched and promoted the teaching of Hawaiian literature and learned enough of the language to use some Hawaiian

words must be Hawaiian. My family name is Japanese, but with the growing number of mixed marriages in Hawai'i, family names or even physical appearance, are no longer reliable indicators of ancestry.

Because I wrote about, published, and advocated teaching Hawaiian literature, one Japanese American poet, who knew my ancestry was Japanese, accused me of trying to become Hawaiian, which I thought was laughable. (See "*Local Mythologies, 1979-2000*" in *"A Contentious Multiculturalism": Reflections on Literature, Culture, History, and Education in Hawai'i*.) One Native, ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui (a colleague of Fujikane's in the UH English Department), asserted that only a Native had the right to write about or publish Hawaiian literature. Fujikane published ho'omanawanui's essay "This Land Is Your Land, This Land Was My Land" in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*.

A Native colleague of mine (who was also published in Fujikane's anthology) emailed Fujikane to ask her why she included ho'omanawanui's essay. Fujikane responded in an email that she agreed with ho'omanawanui that what I did suggested that I didn't know there was a difference between Natives and Non-natives:

> As well-intentioned as Dennis is, he does insert his settler family history into the genealogy of Hawaiian land, and he does claim a position of authority for himself on Hawaiian mo'olelo. [I agree with ho'omanawanui when she] writes, "if we assume that anyone has kuleana over Hawaiian culture, history, and the (re)telling of it through our mo'olelo, then it isn't difficult to understand why most haole and Asian settlers in Hawai'i argue there is no difference between themselves and indigenous Kanaka Maoli, despite the vast differences in kuleana that do exist." (144)

My colleague forwarded Fujikane's email to me. I found Fujikane and her colleague's claim that I didn't know the difference between myself and "indigenous Kanaka Maoli" laughable. I wasn't retelling Hawaiian stories or pretending to be a Native storyteller; I was summarizing and quoting stories that White scholars translated into English from Hawaiian sources; I documented my sources, so that readers could read the original sources. After reading Fujikane's email, I wrote a lengthy response to ho'omanawanui and Fujikane. (See "This Land (Native Hawai'i) Is Your Land, That Land (Multicultural

Hawai'i) is My Land" in "*A Contentious Multiculturalism": Reflections on Literature, Culture, History, and Education in Hawai'i*; and *The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i*.)

I researched and wrote about Native literature and culture in *Storied Landscapes* and *Local Geography* because I grew up and lived in Hawai'i, and considered what I learned from my research important, if not essential, for anyone who resided here. Stu Dawrs, a White reviewer who grew up in Hilo, got the gist of *Storied Landscapes*:

> ... the overall sense one gets from reading *Storied Landscapes* is one of deeper meanings and an interconnectedness of names and places that we might otherwise take for granted. In that sense, the book plants the seeds of a lifetime's challenge for its readers: To take an active role in learning about the land, to celebrate the myths that humanize, and to incorporate those myths into a daily existence—not just culturally, but economically and politically—that meshes more completely with life on these islands. (*Honolulu Weekly*. Vol. 9, No. 45, Nov. 17-23, 1999)

1.22

In "Hawaiians and Human Rights" (1993), Trask attempts to distinguish Natives from Settlers by asserting, "Unlike settlers in Hawai'i (haole, Asians, and others), who voluntarily gave up their nationality of their homelands when they became permanent residents of Hawai'i, Hawaiians had their nationality forcibly changed in their own homeland" (30). However, the citizenship histories of Hawaiians, and of Whites and Asians who arrived in Hawai'i after them are more complicated than Trask's either/or summary.

It's true, of course, that the nationality of Native Hawaiians was "forcibly changed." After the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown in 1893, Natives became citizens of the Republic of White Oligarchs; and after the US annexed the Republic in 1898, all of its citizens, including Natives, became US citizens.

At least some Native leaders appeared to accept the change to US citizenship and Territorial status in America in order to work politically for the benefit of their people. Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole, a former heir to the Hawaiian Throne who served as Hawai'i's non-voting Congressional delegate from 1903–1922, campaigned as a Republican on Americanism and told voters, "Monarchy had accomplished a

useful means, and democracy arises to carry on the work” (“Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole” 115) White politicians couldn’t pronounce “Kalanianaole,” so he became known as Kūhiō. A former heir to the Hawaiian Throne, he also acquired the nickname “Prince Cupid” in Washington D.C. I refer to him as Kalanianaole.

Hawaiians were the largest voting block in the Territory, and Kalanianaole became an advocate for Statehood in 1919 as the best way to increase Hawaiian control of local government and to protect the rights of Hawaiians as a people. With Statehood, Hawaiians would gain the right to elect their own governor as well as two US Senators and at least one Congressional Representative who could vote. Hawaiians

Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole (1871–1922), the longest-serving Congressional delegate from the US Territory of Hawai‘i, dapper-looking in a Western suit.

would also gain the right to vote in US presidential elections. However, there was little support in Congress to allow a predominantly Non-white Territory become a US State.

Part-Hawaiian John Wise sounded even more enthusiastic than Kalanianaole about the new government and citizenship. In 1895, Wise, along with Kalanianaole, was one of the leaders of an armed counter-rebellion to restore the Monarchy. In 1900, when the US incorporated Hawai‘i as its territory, Wise helped establish the Democratic Party in Hawai‘i. In 1901, he told Robert Wilcox, who was elected by the Nativist Home Rule party as the US Territory's first non-voting Congressional delegate:

> We [Natives] are like little calves feeding from the mother cow, and America is the mother cow, and her milk constitutes all the benefits that are coming to us from her. We must let Americans know what we want, and she will let us have it ("Robert W. Wilcox" 105, quoted from Andrade 218).

Breaking from early twentieth-century Native politicians like Kalanianaole and Wise, Native activists of the 1970s, born as US citizens, rejected American identity. Trask writes, "After the 1993 sovereignty protests at the Palace of our chiefs, Hawaiians, especially the youth, began to discard national identity as Americans and reclaim indigenous identification as Natives" ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai‘i" 5). One way to reject an American identity is to renounce one's US citizenship, which is permitted under US law. However, because a Native nation no longer exists, renouncing US citizenship would make Natives stateless, a highly problematic legal status. Hence, the movement to restore a Native nation.

1.23

Over half of the White American Settlers in the nineteenth century "voluntarily gave up their nationality of their homelands when they became permanent residents of Hawai‘i." Commissioner James H. Blount, who was appointed by US President Grover Cleveland to investigate the events surrounding the January 1893 overthrow of the Monarchy, reports that according to the 1890 Kingdom census, there were 1,928 American residents (Document 259, "No. 11 Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 1, 1893" 480).

According to legal historian Jon Van Dyke, when the Kingdom was overthrown in 1893, 1,105 Americans were naturalized Hawaiian citizens (“Population, Voting, and Citizenship in the Kingdom of Hawai’i” 90). They had voluntarily given up their nationality to become Hawaiian citizens, so that they could participate in (and eventually take over) the government of Hawai‘i. However, in 1898, when the US annexed Hawai‘i, the citizens of the Republic of White Oligarchs regained their American nationality; and their children, of course, born after annexation, were US citizens.

1.24

Trask assumes that the Japanese who arrived in the Kingdom were like the White Europeans who emigrated to America and Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century and who gave up their nationalities to become naturalized citizens to participate in governance. When the Natives were in control of their Kingdom, all Non-native arrivals were considered aliens, but had the right to become naturalized citizens by pledging allegiance to the Kingdom. (Apparently forswearing allegiance to their native land wasn’t required, but may have been assumed.) In “Naturalization of Orientals in Hawaii Prior to 1900,” Maude Jones reports that three Japanese, in 1844, 1845 and 1847, applied for naturalization and became citizens of the Kingdom. Jones speculates that the three were crew members of “Japanese junks picked up and brought to the islands” (68). She also reports that in the 1874, 1877, and 1883, three Japanese men were married in the Kingdom, at least two of the marriages (1877 and 1883) were to Hawaiian women, which required that the groom be a citizen of the Kingdom; she wonders whether the three men were descendants of the three naturalized Japanese in the 1840s (68).

The Japanese contract workers who began arriving in 1885 were eligible to become naturalized citizens after a year, but none applied. In 1887, White Settlers, scheming to gain control of the government, imposed a new constitution on the Native King, restricting the voting right of Natives by stipulating property, income, and literacy requirements, and also excluding Asians from voting. The restrictions on Japanese voting (if they had been naturalized) violated the Convention signed by the Japanese government and the Kingdom, but no one protested: the exclusion didn’t matter to the Japanese government or the contract workers because the workers didn’t plan to

stay or participate in governance.

After the 1893 White insurrection that overthrew the Native nation, two or three Japanese apparently acquired citizenship rights. One of them who was Tomo Abe, who came to Hawai‘i around 1876. He became a special citizen under Article 17—Citizenship, in the Constitution that the Republic of White Oligarchs adopted in July 1894. Section 2 of the article, Special Rights of Citizenship, states:

> Any person not a Hawaiian citizen, who took active part, or otherwise rendered substantial service in the formation of, and has since supported the Provisional Government of Hawaii, who shall within six months from the promulgation of this Constitution procure from Minister of the Interior a certificate of such service, as herein set forth; and who shall take an oath to support this Constitution and the laws of the Republic so long as he shall remain domiciled in the Republic, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizenship without thereby prejudicing his native citizenship or allegiance. (1894 C*onstitution of the Republic of Hawaii*)

In “Naturalization of Orientals in Hawaii Prior to 1900,” Jones reports that Abe “carried a gun at the time of the Overthrow” and that he was serving as a police officer when he became a special citizen in 1894. His name was Americanized to “Tom Abbey” (69). When Abe became a special citizen of the Republic, he wasn’t required to give up his Japanese citizenship, as noted in section 2 of Article 17, of the 1894 *Constitution of the Republic of Hawaii*.

In *Issei, Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii*, Kimura reports that two men applied for and were granted naturalization in 1894 (15–16) at the urging of an ad hoc group of Japanese migrant intellectuals who came from San Francisco to Honolulu to promote a ridiculous, quixotic plan to take over Hawai‘i by persuading Japanese migrant workers to naturalize and vote Whites out of power. One of the men whom Kimura identifies, Tamekichi Abe, may be the same person as Tomo Abe, or Tom Abbey. Kimura doesn’t provide information on either Abe or Kenzaburō Ōzawa, the other man who naturalized. Two or three voters, of course, were hardly enough to launch a Japanese electoral takeover of Hawai‘i. (For the story of the short-lived Japanese Patriotic League, which concocted the plot to take over Hawai‘i through voting, see subsections 2.14–2.25 in “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century

Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i.")

Jones notes that "K. Narita and other prominent Japanese residents of Hawaii requested Special Rights of Citizenship under the Provisional Government but were refused. Several Japanese were granted Letters of Denization, but without the right to vote" (69). (Denizens had some of the rights of citizenship like land ownership, but not voting, unless they met all the qualifications for naturalization.)

When the Republic of White Oligarchs was established in 1894, it granted citizenship to all naturalized citizens of Kingdom, along with anyone who was born in it. The three Japanese naturalized in the 1840s (if they were still alive), and the two or three who were naturalized later, and any Nisei born in the Republic (a few were, like my paternal grandfather's first wife) became citizens. The Constitution of the Republic included an English literacy requirement for naturalization and voting, which excluded most of the Japanese workers already in Hawai'i, as well as most new arrivals.

1.25

The goal of the White insurrectionists was not to establish a Republic, but to have the US annex Hawai'i. In 1897, lawyer, businessman, and politician Lorrin A. Thurston, one of the leaders of the White insurrectionists and annexationists, published *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii* to sell the benefits of annexation to "an increasingly racially nativist and balky white American public fearful of the multihued population of the islands (Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i* 135). Thurston agreed with White racists in America that the Chinese and Japanese were "an undesirable population from a political standpoint, because they do not understand American principles of government" (Qtd. in Merry 135). Still, he tried to downplay the danger of the 46,023 Asians, who, by 1896, made up 42% of Hawai'i's population::

> Individually, the Chinese and Japanese in Hawaii are industrious, peaceable citizens [they weren't "citizens," and, as resident aliens, they weren't always "industrious or peaceable"], and as long as they do not take part in the political control of the country, what danger can the comparatively small number there be to this country? [The number wasn't "comparatively small," unless Thurston was comparing the Asian population in Hawai'i to the total population of the US, which was 63 million in

> 1890 and 76 million in 1900.] They are not citizens, and by the Constitution of Hawai'i, they are not eligible to become citizens; they are aliens in America and aliens in Hawai'i; annexation will give them no rights which they do not now possess, either in Hawai'i or in the United States (Qtd. in Merry 135).

Contrary to what Thurston asserted, however, after annexation, under US law, the alien workers gained rights that they didn't have in the Republic of White Oligarchs. For one, the workers gained the right to strike. For another, contract labor was illegal in America, so the alien workers acquired the right leave the plantations if they didn't like the work, which made them more difficult for White owners to control. After leaving the plantations the Japanese could find work in Hawai'i, America, or any country that allowed them to enter and reside as alien workers; or they could return to Japan.

Thurston tried to assuage the White phobia of the Japanese by reassuring Americans that the Japanese "are temporarily in the country for what they can make out of it. As soon as they accumulate a few hundred dollars they return home. Shut off the source of supply, and in ten years there will not be Asiatics enough left in Hawaii to have any appreciable effect" (135). Of course, after annexation, the White planters who controlled the government did not "shut off" the supply of foreign workers. Plantation owners like Thurston continued to recruit Japanese for low-cost labor to enrich themselves. Between 1900, when Hawai'i was incorporated as a US Territory, and 1924, when the US banned Japanese entry into America, 132,000 workers arrived from Japan, more than the 86,000 who entered the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Republic of White Oligarchs (Odo and Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of the Japanese in Hawai'i, 1885-1924* 49).

1.26

In 2024, a defender of the Settler State of Israel, apparently in an attempt to alleviate Jewish Settler guilt, published in the Wall Street Journal an opinion titled "We Are All Settler Colonialists Now." Actually, we aren't. "We are all migrants" would be more accurate. In "Tribal Mix" (*Local Geography*, 2004), I wrote about our ancestors:

> During the millennia of migrations out of the African homeland and travels hither and yon, exploring across borders and

> boundaries, or backtracking and retreating, groups have exchanged food, goods, songs, stories, information, ideas, and genes. (53)

Of course, many also ended up killing or enslaving people they met, and occupying their lands and taking their resources. Other were recruited to work in foreign countries, and allowed to reside there while contributing to the economy and paying taxes. In "Migration through History: Ancient Athens," George Stefanopoulos writes: "Migrants were called metics, or 'Metoikos /metikos/' in Greek [lit. "change of dwelling"], a name given to any of the resident aliens, including freed slaves." Stefanopoulos describes the status of Metics:

> Metics occupied an intermediate position between visiting foreigners and citizens, having both privileges and duties. They were a recognized part of the Athenian community and distinctively protected by law, although subject to restrictions on marriage, property ownership and citizen rights such as the right to vote. It is true that most of the metics were Greeks from other city-states, however, a considerable non-Greek population derived from Lydia, Thrace and Scythia.

Metics constituted a significant source of workforce and skilled labour and comprised a large part of the population of Athens by the 5th century BCE. They were often employed on more menial, but nevertheless vital, tasks – including trireme building, rowing, and maintenance. The latter contributed immensely to the Athenian wealth, cultural and military prowess of that period, which still resonates today. Despite all this, metics were regarded with suspicion by some Athenians as possible conspirators that would see to the fall of the city. They were also regarded as "inferior" since they did not possess citizen rights. Others, however, recognized their invaluable contribution to the state.

In order to become a metic in ancient Athens one needed to have a sponsor (Prostates); a citizen of Athens that would vouch for them. They had to [submit to] be drafted in military service like the citizens, pay higher taxes than citizens (metoikion), share all the burdens of citizenship but deprived from fundamental rights enjoyed by citizens. Nevertheless, some of the metics in Athens managed to get really wealthy and, in a few cases, even gained citizenship. Some of the well

known metics that lived in Athens included Aristotle the philosopher, Aspasia Pericles's wife and Lysias the speech writer (logographer)." [*Encyclopedia Brittanica*'s entry for "metic" contains the same text as Stefanopoulos' web article, but oddly, different examples of metics: "Cephalus, father of Lysias and a metic, was a character in Plato's Republic; Pasion, a metic and former slave, became a great Athenian banker of the 4th century BC." According to *Brittanica*'s headnote, its entry was written by contributors and editors, and fact-checked by editors.]

What Stefanopoulos writes about restrictions of metics in ancient Athens reminded me of the exclusion of the Issei from citizenship and voting in Hawai‘i and America. Van Dyke points out about Hawai‘i, "Asian laborers were excluded from decision-making political circles, as guest workers are excluded from political activity in many countries today, and thus the numbers [of Asian workers in Hawai‘i] alone provide an incomplete picture" ("Population, Voting, and Citizenship in the Kingdom of Hawai'i" 83). I was also reminded of the anti-miscegenation and alien land laws passed by states in America (though not in Hawai‘i) to discourage the Issei from "settling."

When tyrants took over Athens, Stefanopoulos notes, "The metics were targeted by the oligarchs, often having their assets confiscated, driven out of the city or even executed." After the Japan's Imperial Navy attacked the US Naval Fleet in Pearl Harbor in 1941, all residents of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast, both aliens and their US citizen children, along with a couple of thousand aliens and their children in Hawai‘i were labeled "enemy aliens" without evidence, scapegoated for the attack, forced to leave their homes and possessions, and relocated or imprisoned for the four-year duration of World War II.

1.27

While the Issei were migrant workers and resident aliens, their Nisei children were US citizens by birth, like everyone else born in the US Territory of Hawai‘i, including Natives; so the Non-natives born in Hawai‘i didn't give up their native land to make Hawai‘i a "permanent home," as Trask asserts. However, until 1924, the Japanese government claimed every child born to Japanese parents as a citizen of Japan, including those born in a foreign country. The government required parents residing overseas to register their new-borns as citizens. Although not all Issei complied, all Nisei were, de facto, dual citizens at

birth—US citizens by jus soli (citizenship by birth place, literally, "law of soil"), on which American citizenship is based; and Japanese citizens by jus sanguinis (citizenship by parentage, literally, "law of blood"), on which Japanese citizenship is based (Lyon, "Dual citizenship").

Since the US government never officially recognized Japanese citizenship law, in its eyes, the Nisei were not legally Japanese citizens or dual citizens. However, since the two nations claimed the Nisei as citizens, Nisei males could be drafted by both. Since 1873, every able-bodied 20-year-old male Japanese citizen was required, if drafted, to serve for three years in the Japanese military and four years in the reserves. In 1917, in preparation for entering World War I, the US initiated a national conscription system authorizing a draft for males between the ages of 21 and 31. Both US citizens and alien residents were required to register. At *Ancestry.com,* I found a draft registration card for my paternal grandfather, age 30, dated July 31, 1917. A few Nisei men were drafted during World War I; most came of age later and were subject to the draft during World War II.

During the 1920s, in the wake of World War I, the issue of dual citizenship was debated in America because of the potential for divided loyalties when America went to war. Anti-Jap racists advocated that Congress revoke the US citizenship of the Nisei (even though Japan fought on the side of the US and Britain during World War I). The debate over the revocation of Nisei citizenship must have confused the Nisei, who were educated in US schools, where they were told that they were US citizens by birth and where they pledged allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. The Nisei who understood the debate now learned that Congress could take away their citizenship and homeland and categorize them, like their parents, as aliens ineligible for citizenship.

Revoking the citizenship of the US-born Nisei would probably have required altering the 14th Amendment of the Constitution, which grants citizenship to everyone born in the US. Congress declined to modify the amendment (Lyon). In 1898, US-born Wong Kim Ark, of Chinese ancestry, was denied re-entry to the US under the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which banned Chinese immigration and excluded the Chinese from becoming naturalized US citizens. However, the Supreme Court ruled that under the 14th Amendment, Wong was a US citizen by birth, and he was allowed to re-enter the US.

1.28

In 1924, in response to Congress banning Japanese immigration, the Japanese government changed its citizenship law for citizens born overseas. After December 1, parents living abroad could choose whether or not to register their children as Japanese citizens. If the children weren't registered within two weeks of birth, they were no longer Japanese citizens. The government also permitted Nisei who were registered by their parents as Japanese citizens before 1924 to renounce their Japanese citizenship by submitting a document at a Japanese consulate. Those that renounced their Japanese citizenship didn't do so to become "permanent residents of Hawai'i," as Trask suggests; they were already citizens by birth residing in the US Territory.

My mom's oldest brother renounced his Japanese citizenship in 1936, before he went to Japan to attend Waseda University, so he wouldn't be conscripted into military service while he was there. In 1937, Japan invaded China; if my uncle hadn't renounced his citizenship, he would have been obligated to serve in that war if drafted, or face imprisonment.

My maternal grandparents complied with Japanese law and registered their first four children (born before 1924) as Japanese citizen; after 1924, when registration was no longer required, they didn't register their last two children—my mom, born in 1925, and her youngest brother, born in 1927. Like all Nisei who were unregistered by their parents, my mom and uncle were never Japanese citizens, and Japan was never their "native land," although some Nisei and their descendents, like me, still look back to Japan as the source of family values and cultural traditions. (I refer to Japan as my "ancestral homeland" or a "heartland" rather than a "homeland"; see *Roads of Oku, Journeys in the Heartland*.)

The change in Japan's citizenship law made life less complicated for the Nisei. Japan knew that America was suspicious of dual citizens (as the Japanese would be if there were dual citizens living in Japan). The Japanese government realized that the Nisei were being Americanized, and thus were no longer valuable or trusted citizens, so it was willing to let them be citizens of the country where they were born and raised.

Before the start of World War II, given the option of voluntarily giving up citizenship in Japan, where most Nisei had never lived or visited, approximately 70 percent of the dual citizens did so (Lyon). The other 30 percent may not have been old enough to renounce

their Japanese citizenship; or didn't see dual citizenship as a problem and declined to do anything about it; or saw dual citizenship as an advantage, giving them the option of returning to Japan with their parents, or moving back and forth to reside in both America and Japan.

After World War II broke out, America wanted to force the Nisei to choose one citizenship and nation. According to Lyon, in 1941, as war became likely between America and Japan, the War Department sponsored legislation during the summer and fall to force the 30% of the Nisei who were still dual citizens to choose between their US and Japanese citizenships. The legislation never passed, but in 1943, the US Army made it a requirement for all Nisei, before being drafted or volunteering, to sign a loyalty oath swearing allegiance to the US and forswearing allegiance to Japan. (The US Navy refused to enlist anyone of Japanese ancestry even if he were a US citizen.) After hearing anti-Jap rhetoric all their lives from racist Whites and being accused of serving as agents and spies for the Japanese Emperor, the Nisei dual citizens were now asked to "voluntarily" renounce their Japanese citizenship and serve in the US Army to "prove" they were "good, loyal Americans." The mixed messaging probably caused some confusion among young Nisei. Still many of them volunteered to serve, perhaps because they wanted to show White Americans how much they appreciated being granted citizenship, like everyone else, under jus soli; or perhaps because they were pissed off at their detractors and determined to prove them wrong.

1.29

At the outbreak of World War II, the Nisei residing on the West Coast were put in a more difficult situation than those in Hawai'i: 120,000 residents of Japanese ancestry, both alien and US citizen, were expelled from homes in a designated West Coast military exclusion zone—ordered to report to assembly centers and transported to detention centers in remote areas of the interior, for "relocation." The Issei and Nisei were forced to sell or leave behind property and family belongings too heavy to carry with them and were held in the detention centers for resettlement as individuals or in small groups outside of the exclusion zone, apparently so they would assimilate and disappear into the White population rather than re-establish communities of Japanese ancestry. (See "Wartime Expulsion and Relocation of West Coast Residents of Japanese Ancestry," Note 4 in *The Life and Times*

of Gunichi Kuwahara.)

The US government decided to force both Issei and Nisei detainees who wanted to be released from detention to sign a loyalty oath like the one signed by Nisei volunteers and draftees of the US Army. Question 27 asked if the respondent was "willing to serve on combat duty wherever ordered" (for men) or willing to serve in other ways (for women and others not qualified for combat duty); question 28 asked if the respondent would "swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and forswear any form of allegiance to the Emperor of Japan." The US government soon realized, however, that it made no sense for the Issei to swear loyalty to America when they were ineligible to become citizens; and to forswear loyalty to Japan, which would render them stateless. Many Issei, understandably, were confused about what they should do. In the meantime, the government was advised that administering the loyalty oath to the Issei violated the Geneva Convention protections against the mistreatment of "enemy aliens." (The Issei were resident aliens, not "enemy aliens," although the US government, without evidence or due process, presumed they to be enemy aliens). The "loyalty" question was rephrased for the Issei, to "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the US and take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the US?" (Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* 113).

As legal aliens, the Issei were already required as conditions of their residency to abide by US laws and not to interfere with the US war effort; so the loyalty questionnaire was redundant and perfunctory. Still, many Issei didn't want to leave the detention centers to relocate in unknown, possibly hostile White communities outside, so they decided not to answer the revised question or answered negatively, and remained in the detention centers until the US courts toward the end of the war declared their detention unconstitutional. As Japan's defeat in the war against America approached, the detainees were allowed to return to their West Coast homes or request repatriation to Japan..

According Lyon, about 20,000 of the detainees refused to answer questions 27 and 28, gave qualified answers (e.g., yes, if my rights as a citizen were restored), or answered one or both questions "No" ("Questions 27 and 28.") Many were angry at the US government for expelling them from their homes; some of the Nisei feared that the US government planned to expatriate the Issei and wanted to keep their Japanese citizenship, so they could accompany their parents back to Japan. Some refused to agree to military service or sign a loyalty

oath under duress. (The number of Nisei US Army volunteers from the detention centers was far lower than the number from Hawai'i, where residents of Japanese ancestry weren't expelled from their homes en masse and detained, although some who lived near military installations or along the coast were forced to move elsewhere.) Some Nisei renounced their US citizenship. After the war, a few renunciants did go to Japan; most, however, decided to remain in America and requested that their US citizenship be restored. The courts recognized that they had renounced their US citizenship under duress and restored it to those who applied.

After the war, in 1952, the US, hoping to win the support of Asian allies against the Soviet Union and China and to expand its economic and trade opportunities in Asia, decided, as a gesture of "good will," to allow Asians to become naturalized US citizens. The gesture didn't matter to most of the Issei in Hawai'i, however, because they already had the two options they wanted: as citizens of Japan, they could return to Japan to live with their parents and/or siblings and be buried with their ancestors; or they could remain in America as resident aliens and live with their US-born children.

Today, all the descendants of Natives, Whites, and Asians born in the Settler State of America are US citizens by birth, which doesn't involve voluntarily or involuntarily giving up another nationality. Natives like Trask, who want to retain the identity of their ancestors, can self-identify as Natives. The descendants of Asian ancestry who resist assimilation and don't identify themselves as Americans and don't want to join Fujikane's Asian Settlers Club can self-identify as descendants of migrants or resident aliens; or as people or residents of Asian ancestry; or simply as Non-natives.

1.30

Historically, a nineteenth-century colony of White and Asian Settlers that subjugated Native Hawaiians and dispossessed them from their lands never existed. Like Fujikane's "local nation," which triggered Trask's labeling of Asian migrant workers and their descendants as Settlers, Fujikane's Asian Settler Colony in Hawai'i is a "fictitious socio-political entity"—as fanciful as Laputa, the floating island that Jonathan Swift invented for his satiric allegory Gulliver's Travels (1726). The fictional Gulliver discovers Laputa, a magnetically levitated island of a tyrannical King, hovering above the island of Balnibarbi in

Gulliver discovers the magetically levitated island of Laputa in the North Pacific, east of Japan. Illustration by J. J. Grandville, 1856

the North Pacific, east of Japan. From Laputa, the King terrorizes the people living on Balnibarbi below, blocking sunlight and rain, and dropping boulders on them.

White Settlers in Hawai’i didn’t want Asian migrant workers to join them on their Laputa. During the nineteenth century, the Settlers excluded Asian migrants from becoming citizens or participating in governance, leaving them below on Balnibarbi with disenfranchised, landless Natives. After Hawai‘i was annexed to the US, the resident aliens were ineligible for citizenship and excluded from governance in the new Laputa.

After all, Fujikane is an English professor and a fabulist, not a historian concerned with facts. Later in her career, she fancies herself a “cartographer,” like the fictional Gulliver, mapping the world. In her 2016 essay “Mapping Wonder in the Māui Mo‘olelo on the Mo‘o‘āina: Growing Aloha ‘Āina Through Indigenous and Settler Affinity Activism” (2016), she refers to what she writes as “cartographies” rather than essays, and uses the metaphor of mapping and maps in the title of her 2021 collection of essays, *Mapping Abundance for a Planetary Future: Kanaka Maoli and Critical Settler Cartographies in Hawai’i*. However, as Polish-American scientist and philosopher Alfred Korzybski warned his readers in 1931, “The map is not the territory”; neither are essays.

Korzybski's maxim reminds me of an epic poem about the Donner Party, a lengthy excerpt from which I heard a White poet read at De Anza College (south of San Francisco) around 1988. The Donner Party wagon-trained westward from Illinois in 1846, planning to settle on land taken from Natives in California. They got trapped in the heavy winter snows of the Sierra Nevadas while attempting to take a short cut promoted in The Emigrants' Guide to Oregon and California by would-be pioneer Lansford Hastings, who claimed to "know the way." The "short cut" was actually longer. The point of the poem was "The map is not the territory." In order to survive the winter, the wagon-trainers ending up eating their dead and two Miwok guides, Luis and Salvador (the names given to them after they were converted to Catholicism). The two Natives fled for their lives, but were hunted down and murdered for food.

When confronted by a wagon-train survivor, Hastings said that he was sorry for misleading the Donner Party, but that he meant well.

1.31

Fujikane attempts to justify her mislabelling of the Issei in Hawai'i as "Asian Settlers" by suggesting that it doesn't matter whether Asian migrants came to Hawai'i to settle permanently or not; or whether or not the migrants had the political and economic power to subjugate Natives and occupy their land. She also ignores questions like whether or not the migrants joined Whites in overthrowing the Kingdom and establishing a colony on Native land; and whether they were housed on plantation land bought legally from the Hawaiian Kingdom by Whites, and not on land taken by force from Natives. Instead, she offers this explanation of why her mythic history of Hawai'i is important: "The identification of Asians as settlers focuses on their obligations to the indigenous peoples of Hawai'i and the responsibilities that Asian settlers have in supporting Native peoples in their struggles for self-determination" (7). In other words, she means well.

Her explanation, of course, is another "strangely disconnected idea," a non sequitur: there is no logical connection between (1) identifying people of Asian ancestry as "Settlers" and (2) "supporting Native peoples in their struggles for self-determination." Labeling residents of Asian ancestry "Settlers" is merely an attempt to suck up to Native activists while appealing to guilt in gullible or ignorant Asian American readers, as if guilt over a fictive unfulfilled obligation would

persuade readers to support Native self-determination.

Residents of Asian ancestry, at least those who are educated, can determine whether or not to support Native self-determination without Fujikane's myth or appeal to guilt. The myth only confuses and obfuscates the issues. If Fujikane knew how to apply Occam's Razor, she would have used it to dispense with her myth. To persuade Non-natives to support Native self-determination (actually, many, like me, already do, and did so long before Fujikane proposed her myth), all Fujikane had to say was that she agrees with Trask's argument that Natives have the right to self-determination.

Fujikane argues that those who dismiss her myth of Asian Settler Colonialism as an oversimplification of history "fail to address this critical issue of indigenous claims to land and nation" (20)—another non sequitur. Native claims can be addressed without her myth, since the claims are based on the involvement of the US Minister to Hawai'i and US marines in the overthrow of the Native Kingdom in 1893. President Grover Cleveland, after reading the 1893 report from Commissioner Blount, acknowledged that the USS Boston, a warship anchored in Honolulu Harbor, landed marines without authorization by Congress, to support an insurrection by White planters; and that US Minister John L. Stevens' recognition of the provisional government was illegal. Cleveland called what the US Minister and the US marines did an Act of War "against a friendly people."

The 1993 Apology Bill passed by the US Congress also acknowledges that "the indigenous Hawaiian people have never directly relinquished their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum." These documents, along with International laws supporting indigenous people's right to self-determination, are sufficient basis for a claim to restore Native lands and sovereignty.

2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i

[Section 2 of 5, with 31 Subsections]

His Majesty (Kalakaua) believes that the Japanese and Hawaiians spring from one cognate race and this enhances his love for you. He hopes that our people will more and more be brought closer together in a common brotherhood. Hawaii holds out her loving hand and heart to Japan and desires that Your People may come and cast in their lots with ours and repeople our Island Home—with a race which is sent to us by His Imperial Majesty, Your Government and people may blend with ours and produce a new and vigorous nation making our land the garden spot of the Eastern Pacific, as your beautiful and glorious country is of the Western.

—John M. Kapena, the King's former Minister of Foreign Affairs and current Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Japan (1882), qtd. in Kuykendall 159–160)

The Asiatic population of Hawaii consists ... of laborers who are temporarily in the country for what they can make out of it. As soon as they accumulate a few hundred dollars they return home. Shut off the source of supply, and in ten years there will not be Asiatics enough left in Hawaii to have any appreciable effect.

They are not citizens, and by the Constitution of Hawai'i, they are not eligible to become citizens; they are aliens in America and aliens in Hawai‘i; annexation will give them no rights which they do not now possess, either in Hawai'i or in the United States.

—Lorrin A. Thurston, "Handbook on Annexation" (1897)

> Hawai'i, Hawai'i / chasing a dream we came / but now our tears flow / in the cane fields (*Hawai, Hawai, to yō / Yume mite kita ga / Nagasu namida wa / Kibi no naka*)
>
> Go to America / or return to Japan / here in Hawai'i / we don't know what to do (*Yuko ka Meriken yō / Kaero ka Nihon / Koko ga shian no / Hawai koku*)
>
> —Two Issei plantation songs in Odo, "Hole hole bushi"

2.1

In "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" (1984), Haunani-Kay Trask wrote:

> As the [nineteenth] century advanced, ever increasing numbers of haole and Asian immigrants demanded more land, a larger socio-economic slice of the capitalist pie, and finally, political control. (108)

Trask implies that Asian immigrants came to settle in Hawai'i during the nineteenth century and joined Whites in taking over the Hawaiian Kingdom. However, that's not what happened. The migrant workers came at the invitation of the Kingdom. However, they couldn't demand more political control because practically all were aliens who couldn't vote or run for office. In 1890, out of the 14,113 registered voters, there were 0 (zero) of Chinese ancestry and 0 (zero) of Japanese ancestry (Schmitt, "Voter Participation Rates in Hawaii Before 1900," "Table 4. Nationality of Registered Votes in Hawaii: on December 28, 1890" 56).

Asian migrant workers who entered the Kingdom also couldn't demand "a larger socio-economic slice of the capitalist pie" because they were paid according to three-year contracts, not by what they demanded. The Meiji government recruited the Japanese workers for sugar plantations and signed the contracts in Tōkyō before the workers arrived in Hawai'i. After the Kingdom was overthrown in 1894, private Japanese labor companies recruited and contracted workers for the plantations in what was now the Republic of White Oligarchs (1894–1900). The migrant workers didn't have the right to strike or to

demand more pay, as Trask claims, and most didn't have and weren't earning enough money to buy land. And despite Kalākaua's vision of repopulating the islands with a "cognate race," the Kingdom never had a program to settle Japanese migrant plantation workers on unused land after their contracts expired.

US Commissioner Blount reported in 1893 that three years before the overthrow of the Kingdom, in 1890, out of the 1.85 million acres on which taxes were paid, Japanese migrants paid taxes on 200 acres, or 0.011% of the total land; the Chinese, who came a generation or two before the Japanese, paid taxes on 12,324 acres, or 0.665% of the land. (Document 259, "No. 11. Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 1, 1893" 482). Blount also reports that 224 Chinese "immigrants" and four Japanese "immigrants" owned property (Document 259, "Table 7.—Classification of each nationality and sex by social condition, education, school attendance, possession of electoral franchise, and ownership of real estate" 484). According the 1910 census (which includes population counts for 1900 and 1890), in 1890 there were 15,301 foreign-born Chinese (17% of a total population of 89,990) and 12,360 Japanese (14% of the population). (*Thirteenth Census of the US Taken in the Year 1910, Statistics for Hawaii*, "Table 4 Population, Nativity, Parentage, and Sex" 9).

Most of the Japanese were living in plantation housing on plantation land, not occupying Native land. By 1900, when Hawai'i became a US Territory, 61,111 Japanese resided there (40% of the total population of 154,001); of those, 40 were owners of farms and 5 were part-owners; of those who were farming the greatest number (485) were share tenants or cash tenants (i.e. sharecropping or renting land to farm). By 1910, there were fewer Japanese owners of farms (26), and more part-owners (16); share tenants, on the other hand, increased from 21 to 130 and cash tenants from 464 to 1,923. (*Thirteenth Census of the US Taken in the Year 1910, Statistics for Hawaii*, "Farms and Property" table in the subsection titled "Color and race of colored farmers: 1910 and 1900" 32).

2.2

Under King Kamehameha III (who reigned from 1825 to 1854), the Monarchy established private land ownership in 1848 to encourage investment in and development of sugar plantations, with the hope that the plantations would become (and did become) the major source

of revenue for the Kingdom. Native leaders also hoped that Native commoners would acquire land on which to live and farm. However, according to Trask, only 30% of adult Native males received any land, and "the plots which they did receive were often too small to cultivate successfully." In the end, only 1% of the land went to commoners, who were the vast majority of the Hawaiian people, and the bulk of the prime agricultural land ended up in the hands of the White planters to develop sugar plantation, with the rest of the land held by the Native Monarchy and chiefs (Trask, "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" 110-111).

The decision to turn communal lands into private property was controversial and debated in the Native community, but the Monarchy believed that its actions were in the best interest of its people. (For a Native perspective on the period, see Samuel M. Kamakau's *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Chapter XXX. "Legislative Problems 1845–1852." For an analysis of the social and economic factors that contributed to Kamehameha III's decision to privatize ownership of land, see Sumner J. La Croix and James Roumasset, "The Evolution of Private Property in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii.")

2.3

Contract labor, akin to short-term slavery, was legalized by the Kingdom in 1850 to recruit workers from abroad for its sugar plantations. According to professor of history and economics Katharine Comon (b. 1857, d. 1915), the contract workers on Hawai'i's plantations were protected by law from "cruelty, misusage, or violation of contract," but deserters, if apprehended, were punished—taken back to the plantations to work for double the time of absence or imprisoned at hard labor until they agreed to fulfill their contracts. (*The History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands* 492-493).

White-owned plantations needed to recruit labor from overseas because epidemics had decimated the Native population and reduced the work force. Fujikane suggests epidemics were part of the "colonial process" (5), as if the diseases were somehow participating with White planters to kill off Natives, replace them with Asian laborers, and facilitate the takeover of the Kingdom by Non-natives. But the White planters would have benefited from a healthy, robust Native population (assuming Natives were willing to do plantation work, although many weren't). With a large Native workforce, the planters wouldn't

have had to recruit foreign labor, which was more expensive than employing Natives already living in the islands. White planters paid for transporting the workers from overseas, then deducted the money from the workers' wages. Still, the workers had to be housed, with medical services, at plantation expense. Bringing European workers to Hawai'i was particularly costly, which is why the planters turned first and last to Asia for recruits.

Diseases brought by outsiders during the nineteenth century were deadly to Natives not because White Settlers employed genocidal biological warfare against them, but because after centuries of isolation from the rest of the world, the Native population hadn't acquired resistance or immunity to the diseases. Introduced diseases such as syphilis, smallpox, tuberculosis, influenza, and measles infected and killed Natives whose numbers went from an estimated 800,000 when Captain Cook arrived in 1778 to 40,000 in 1884 (Stannard 50-52). Strict quarantine of arrivals would have helped. By the time the Japanese contract laborers began arriving in 1885, quarantine protocols had been established, and the migrant workers were held several days at a quarantine station in Honolulu Harbor and medically examined before being allowed to enter the Kingdom (Odo and Sinoto 39).

Some of the nineteenth-century decline in the Native population was also due to outmigration to the Pacific Coast and other areas of America (Kauanui 141–143). Like Chinese and Japanese workers, some Natives were willing to leave home and enter the global economy to earn wages or start businesses. To help control outmigration of Natives, the Kingdom passed a law in 1850 prohibiting any "native subject of the king" from leaving the islands "without express permission given on proved necessity" (Coman 490).

According to Coman, Native Hawaiians who survived the epidemics were "disinclined" toward plantation field labor because it was "monotonous" (491). (Coman has a habit of stereotyping Non-whites, not just Hawaiians, but also the Chinese and Japanese.) The plantation labor contracts required ten hours of work per day, twenty-six days a month, with low pay. Not surprisingly, in a tight labor market, Natives took higher-paying and less monotonous jobs, becoming teamsters, cowboys on cattle ranches, or sailors. Many could also live off the land and sea by farming, fishing, and gathering, so they didn't need to earn wages from brutal plantation labor. In 1886, around the time when Japanese workers began arriving, only 1,319 Hawaiians were working on plantations (Coman 494). Between 1885-1894, 29,000

Japanese workers had arrived, although after their three-year contracts ended, about half of them left to return home after or moved to the US continent for higher-paying jobs. (Thus, in 1890 there were only 12,360 Japanese residing in the islands; see subsection 2.1 above.)

Chinese contract laborers began arriving before the Japanese, in 1852, when the Kingdom was ruled by Kamehameha III. In 1860, there were 816 Chinese in Hawai'i out of a total population of 69,000, which included 65,647 Hawaiians and 1,900 haole (Odo and Sinoto 18–19). By 1884, the number of Chinese, including those of mixed blood, was 18,254. There were 44,232 Hawaiians, mixed and unmixed, and 16,579 Caucasian, including 6,612 Portuguese migrant workers (Schmitt, "Table 1.12 Ethnic Stock, 1853-1970," *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* 25).

2.4

In "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," Fujikane contends that the story of the Native Monarchy's role in bringing Asian workers to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century shouldn't be told because it could be used to "accuse Native peoples of their own complicity in their colonization" (20). "Their own complicity"? To whom else would their complicity belong? Perhaps, she means "accuse Native peoples of complicity in their own colonization"? Without accusing Native rulers of "complicity," however, some decisions that they made during the nineteenth century became factors in the loss of their lands and sovereignty. "Complicity" means "being involved with others in an illegal activity or wrongdoing." What the Natives rulers did, however, wasn't illegal or necessarily "wrong" because their decisions were made in line with their duty to preserve and protect their nation from foreigners and enhance the well-being of their people.

A complex historical narrative, if it sticks to the facts, is better than the myth Fujikane fabricates for self-serving political reasons in support of Trask. Fujikane attempts to minimize the role of Native leaders and portrays them as passive victims of a "colonial process" controlled by Whites and Asians. Such narratives, however, can be used by Whites to assert that Natives have no grounds to claim lands and sovereignty because they had already lost control of the Kingdom before the White Oligarchy overthrew it in 1893, and annexation was merely a matter between the Republic of White Oligarchs and the US government. In "Population, Voting, and Citizenship in the Kingdom

of Hawai'i," legal scholar Jon Van Dyke describes one White lawyer's argument against Native claims:

> The late attorney Patrick W. Hanifin, who represented groups challenging programs established for Native Hawaiians before his untimely death in 2003, argued ... that Native Hawaiians had suffered no injury from the overthrow of the Kingdom, because they no longer controlled the Kingdom, and had previously lost effective control of its lands. (81-82)

Van Dyke prefaces his summary by noting that, without a doubt, "Native Hawaiians constituted the overwhelming majority of the political community that participated in decision-making in the Kingdom at the time of the 1893 overthrow" (81). Native leaders resisted White actions to gain control of the Kingdom and, after the overthrow, mounted an armed counter-rebellion in 1895 to restore the Kingdom. Native leaders also opposed the White Oligarchs who advocated for the US annexation of the islands.

The work of Native leaders to perpetuate their nation's sovereignty is documented in Noe Noe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (2004), which cites earlier works on the topic, like Davianna McGregor-Alegado's 1979 Master's dissertation "Hawaiian Resistance: 1887–1889." Silva points out that White historians present historical events from a White point of view, which provides only limited information or discussion about Native resistance and generally glosses over it. And Fujikane's "Asian American Settlers" myth, written from an Asian American point of view, makes it sound like "Asian Settlers" played a major role in the loss of Native sovereignty, even though they played practically no role. It also leaves out the Native resistance to the White Settlers who usurped the Kingdom. The point of Silva's account is that while the resistance failed to prevent the loss of sovereignty, the Natives remained true to their traditions and values throughout the struggle, which allowed them to revive the sovereignty movement and their culture in the last three decades of the twentieth century.

2.5

In order to deny Native "complicity" in the development of plantations and the recruitment of Asian migrant workers, Fujikane describes the

colonization of Hawai'i as a "process" carried out by Whites Settlers, Asian Migrant Workers, Western Powers, and Diseases, with Natives playing the role of victims. She writes about Chinese contract laborers who arrived in 1852 that they "entered into Hawai'i under the auspices of the White sugar planters' Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society and occupied Native lands through colonial processes at a time when it was already a nation under siege by Western colonial powers" ("Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i" 8).

Kamehameha III established the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1850 to develop sugar plantations. In 1852, the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society contracted the first 200 migrant workers from China. It was called "Royal," not "White" because the King was its patron and provided half of the funds for its operation.

"Under siege" is an exaggeration. Trask summarizes the historical events before the 1852 arrival of Chinese migrant workers: in 1836, 1839, 1842, 1843, and 1849, armed British, French, and American ships docked in Hawai'i and the foreigners made various demands on the Kingdom, including the forced signing of a couple of unequal treaties and taking possession of a fort over a debt dispute. A rogue British naval officer occupied Hawai'i for five months in 1843, but his commanding officer came and restored sovereignty to the King ("Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence"113).

Japan and China were also "under siege" by Western colonial powers. In 1853, US Commodore Perry intruded into Edo Bay (Tōkyō Bay) with four warships to demand that Japan open its ports to Western ships and trade. The ports had been closed for over two hundred years. The Tokugawa Shogunate realized that it was outgunned and signed unequal treaties that allowed American, British, Russian, and French ships to enter selected ports. The Shogun's capitulation to Westerners led to a rebellion that overthrew the Shogunate in 1868, and replaced the Shogun with Emperor Meiji as the head of the nation. The Emperor began to industrialize and militarize Japan in order to protect its sovereignty against the West. (See "Perry to Pearl Harbor, 1853–1941: a Long, Sometimes Contentious Relationship that Ended in a War," Note 3 in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara*.)

2.6

By 1881, the Hawaiian Kingdom and White plantation owners were dissatisfied with Chinese migrant workers, who had an understandable

tendency to leave the plantations after their labor contracts expired, and return home or move to live and work in towns, where they could earn more. That year, King David Kalākaua visited Emperor Meiji in Tōkyō to propose that the Emperor allow the Kingdom's plantations to contract Japanese migrant workers.

Left: King David Kalākaua (1882); **Right:** Emperor Meiji (1888)

In an attempt to suggest that Kalākaua was being forced to make his proposals to Meiji, Fujikane opens her account of Kalākaua's visit with "under colonial duress"; but then she acknowledges that the King was acting with a will and strategy of his own "to preserve Hawaiian sovereignty from American imperialist interests" (18). Kalākaua saw that his Kingdom had a common interest with Japan: how to resist the West and protect and preserve the sovereignties of their nations. Kalākaua proposed a federation led by Japan to oppose Western colonialism in Asia and the Pacific; the King offered to recruit other Asian nations to join the alliance. The King asked Japan to lead the alliance because it was emerging as the nation with the most powerful military force in Asia. Earlier that year, the Kingdom passed a resolution to form a Polynesian Confederation, headed by Hawai'i to protect the sovereignty of independent Pacific island nations—Hawai'i, Sāmoa, and Tonga. (Although various efforts to establish the Confederation

were made and the Kingdom formulated a constitution for it in 1887, the Confederation was never established.)

The King also believed that uniting the Hawaiian Monarchy with the Japanese Imperial family through marriage would place his Kingdom in a stronger position to fend off any attempts by the US and other Western powers to take it over. He proposed a marriage between a Japanese prince and Princess Ka‘iulani, the King’s young niece and heir.

Kalākaua’s proposal to recruit Japanese laborers for plantations in Hawai‘i was also aimed at strengthening his Kingdom. He wanted the workers not just to provide labor to increase the Kingdom’s wealth, but to settle in the islands as citizens to help repopulate his nation. A year after Kalākaua’s visit to the Emperor, John M. Kapena, the King’s former Minister of Foreign Affairs and current Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Japan, in a speech at a Tōkyō dinner in 1882, presented Japanese leaders with Kalākaua’s vision for Japanese workers in Hawai‘i:

> His Majesty (Kalakaua) believes that the Japanese and Hawaiians spring from one cognate race and this enhances his love for you. He hopes that our people will more and more be brought closer together in a common brotherhood. Hawaii holds out her loving hand and heart to Japan and desires that Your People may come and cast in their lots with ours and repeople our Island Home—with a race which is sent to us by His Imperial Majesty, Your Government and people may blend with ours and produce a new and vigorous nation making our land the garden spot of the Eastern Pacific, as your beautiful and glorious country is of the Western. (Qtd. in Kuykendall 159–160)

Kapena also told the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs that Kalākaua envisioned that

> … Japanese children growing up and amalgamating with our population will produce a new and vigorous race, which will repeople our Islands. If we simply wanted coolies or laborers we could obtain Chinese but we seek more than that; we wish to repeople our country with an orderly, laborious, civilized, law abiding and cognate race. (Qtd. in Kuykendall 160)

In his initial proposal, the King asked that 40% of the workers be women, both to work with the men in fields, and also to have children with their husbands to increase the population.

Native historian George Kanahele writes that before Kalākaua visited Japan, the King traveled around the islands to discuss the purpose of the journey and assured his people that any new foreign workers would be of a "cognate" race, with similar values and compatible with the Hawaiian people (*Emma, Hawaii's Remarkable Queen* 326).

Before Kalākaua's recruitment of Japanese workers, the Kingdom's Board of Immigration tried to recruit a work force of men and women from cognate races in the South Pacific to "amalgamate" with the Hawaiian population. Between 1865 and 1885, 2,448 Polynesian workers were brought to the islands. By the end of that period, however, only six hundred remained, and only forty-six of those were working on plantations (Coman 508).

Of course, Kapena's description of Japanese workers as "orderly, laborious, civilized, law abiding" was a stereotype with a more complex human reality behind it. In Issei, Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii, Kimura described those who arrived: "Suffering indignities daily, the immigrants became increasingly rebellious. Many began to indulge in heavy drinking, gambling, and licentiousness, disregarding completely the regular savings and remittances that were required by the Japanese government" (3–5).

In the end, two of Kalākaua's three initiatives didn't succeed: Meiji declined the proposal of marriage between the Hawaiian princess and the Japanese prince because the prince was already betrothed. He also declined to serve as the head of the King's proposed Asiatic League. One reason was that the league would include China, which Meiji viewed as Japan's main rival in Asia. To defend itself, the Meiji government believed Japan had to industrialize and militarize and build its own colonial empire in Asia not with China, but at China's expense. Fifteen years after Kalākaua's visit, Japan went to war with and defeated China (1894–1895). Japan planned to oppose the West not in alliance with other nations, but on its own. The reason that Meiji is wearing a military uniform and holding a sword in his 1888 portrait (see above) is that he was the commander of Japan's armed forces.

Decades earlier, in 1829, the Native chief Boki, governor of O'ahu and guardian of Kauikeaouli (who became King Kamehameha III in 1825), attempted a colonizing foray to pay off his and the King's debt to American merchants. Because the sandalwood forests of Hawai'i

had been mostly depleted of valuable trees for trade in China, Boki and another chief, Manuia, his cousin and "the commander of the soldiery" sailed in two well-armed ships, with 479 men and women, including other chiefs and their retainers, to take control of Erromango, an inhabited island in the New Hebrides (Vanuatu Archipelago), which was covered with valuable sandalwood forests, "from the mountains to the sea" (Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* 293–294).

The plan was to establish a colony and a trading post and cut down sandalwood trees and ship them to China for sale. After the two ships stopped to recruit about 100 laborers in Rotuma, in the Fiji islands, only one of the ships, with Manuia and his crew, arrived in Erromango. The other ship, with Boki and his crew, disappeared enroute, apparently either sinking without survivors in a storm or from an accidental explosion of its store of gunpowder. On Erromango, hostilities broke out after the would-be Hawaiian colonizers tied up a Native chief "hand and foot" and fired their weapons during disturbances (Nogelmeier 25). Many of the colonizers, including Manuia, were sickened by malaria and died. The survivors sailed back to Honolulu, many of them ill and dying enroute or thrown overboard while still alive to prevent them from sickening others. The ship arrived home with twenty crew members, twelve Natives and eight foreigners (Kamakau 293-296; Nogelmeier).

2.7

Initially, Meiji wasn't inclined to allow Japanese citizens to go to Hawai‘i for contract work. Thirteen years earlier, in the first year of his reign (1868), during the reign of Kalākaua's predecessor, Kamehameha V, an unauthorized group of 148 Japanese arrived in Hawai‘i with three-year labor contracts. Some of the workers reported abuses on the plantations, so in 1870, the Meiji government paid for the return of forty of the emigrants and put further emigration on hold until it could ensure that its overseas workers would be protected from abuse and treated fairly and respectfully. The Emperor viewed abuse of his subjects as an insult to Himself. In 1871, thirteen more workers from the unauthorized group returned to Japan. What happened to the ninety or so others—whether they remained in Hawai‘i, moved elsewhere, or eventually returned to Japan—is undocumented.

Four years after Kalākaua's visit, Meiji decided it was in his nation's best interest to send surplus workers to Hawai‘i with three-year

contracts, while a Convention was being negotiated between the two nations to ensure that Japanese workers would be treated fairly and protected from abuse. Kimura notes: "... the Japanese government made a special effort to recruit emigrants in the most overpopulated, impoverished areas of the country, such as the coastal counties of Hiroshima-ken and Yamaguchi-ken, the adjoining prefectures (ken) of the Sanyo area of Chugoku Chiho domestic or region" (20-22). Kalākaua wanted to send unemployed workers overseas to defuse labor unrest in impoverished areas and also to acquire foreign capital to fund his nation's industrial development and militarization. According to Odo and Sinoto, between 1892 and 1902, migrant workers in Hawai'i sent or brought back $28 million to Japan (97, Table 11).

Meiji was also interested in learning more about modern agriculture as practiced in the West to help him develop Japanese agriculture. In 1879, Japan annexed Okinawa, islands that had a climate similar to Hawai'i's and whose could be used to develop sugar plantations.

The first group of contract laborers under Meiji's emigration program arrived in Honolulu in 1885. The average pay for men was $9 in wages, and $6 for food per month; women were paid $6 in wages, plus $4 for food. The work day was ten hours in the field or twelve hours in the mill, six days a week, twenty-six days a month (Odo and Sinoto 55).

2.8

In 1886, the Convention governing emigration was signed by the Meiji government and the Hawaiian Monarchy, retroactive to the workers arriving in 1885 (Odo and Sinoto 22). The governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, where the port of Yokohama was located, handled the labor contracts and departures because the migrant workers left from that port just south of Tōkyō. A special agent of the Monarchy's Bureau of Immigration handled the contracts for the Kingdom. The Monarchy agreed to employ inspectors, interpreters, and Japanese doctors who would supposedly look after the well-being of the laborers. Hospitals and cemeteries for the workers were also included, and the migrants were guaranteed the right to naturalize, if they so chose, and to vote. The agreement set the number of female workers at 30% of the total.

Japanese historian Saneyuki Yoshimura writes about the emigration and Convention:

> Emigration was synonymous with a labor policy in dealing with rural farmers who lost their property. Of course, there were immigration treaties and labor contracts to protect the immigrants. However, generally speaking, these were extant in form only. The government authorities who were supposedly entrusted with administering the contracts looked upon the emigrants as "discarded citizens." (Qtd. in Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 34).

In other words, the former peasants in the Shogunate's feudal society were considered expendable, and protections for the emigrants in the Convention were designed mainly to appease idealists in the Meiji government who believed that Japanese citizens, even former peasants, should to be treated fairly and protected wherever they went in the world.

On the other hand, the migrants workers didn't leave Japan to help the Meiji government earn foreign capital to industrialize and militarize Japan; nor did they go to settle and help Kalākaua repeople his Kingdom, or to help its White planters prosper. Their primary purpose was to earn money for themselves and their impoverished families. As one Japanese plantation song composed and sung by a worker put it, "The only reason I'm doing / This tough and painful *hole hole* work / Is for the sake of my wife and children / Who live back home" (Takaki 90). Hole-hole was the work of stripping leaves from maturing cane stalks to concentrate sugar in the stalks, which were pressed in mills to extract the sugary sap after harvest. Kimura notes that *hole hole* bushi (songs sung by Japanese plantation workers, mostly the women) with their "wailing tune," were based on work songs from "the coastal region of Yamaguchi and Hiroshima prefectures or a rural area of Kumamoto Prefecture" (7), that is, from the impoverished areas from which most of the migrant workers were recruited.

A Japanese prostitute in Hawai'i joked about the patriotism that some Japanese leaders thought should be the motivation of the migrant workers. When a Buddhist priest suggested that she give up her profession, she responded sarcastically: "Doesn't a big, healthy man on the sugar plantation get only $14 a month? I'm far better off, for in this work I can save up and send back $200 a month to my home in Japan. Am I not a real patriot who enriches our country?" (O 177). Prostitution was in high demand in the plantation camps and in towns, where four out of five emigrants were male. The Japanese officials on the Monarchy's

Board of Immigration eventually got involved in prostituting Japanese wives who left their husbands after coming to Hawai'i. When Japanese pimps sold the woman to houses of prostitution in towns for $200 or more, the immigration inspectors took a "substantial cut" (Kotani 35).

2.9

The Hawaiian Monarchy controlled citizenship. (Its citizens were referred to as "subjects.") In "Population, Voting, and Citizenship in the Kingdom of Hawai'i," Van Dyke summarizes the citizenship rules and laws during the nineteenth century. The first document regarding citizenship was signed by Kamehameha III in 1838, and stated all Non-natives were aliens "unless they took an oath of allegiance to the Kingdom." In 1840, a law was enacted requiring an alien marrying a Hawaiian to pledge allegiance to the Kingdom. In 1846, when the right to naturalization was granted to anyone living in the Kingdom for a year, 5,790 Hawaiians (8% of the population) signed a petition in protest (89–90).

During the nineteenth century, before the overthrow of the Kingdom, Van Dyke notes that the number of naturalizations was "relatively modest":

> An 1847 publication estimated that 600 foreigners were living in Honolulu, of whom 146 had become naturalized as subjects of the Kingdom. Another author estimated that about 350 foreigners had became naturalized subjects as of 1846. By 1851, 1600 foreigners were living in the Kingdom (about 2%of the Kingdom's overall population), but only 676 had become naturalized, with 428 of those being from the United States. Between 1877 and 1892, 366 persons became naturalized citizens of the Kingdom. By 1893, a total of 3239 foreigners had become naturalized, including 1105 Americans, 763 Chinese, 596 British, 242 Portuguese, 230 Germans, 47 French, 68 other Europeans, 136 Pacific Islanders, 27 South Americans, 3 Japanese, and 25 others. (90–91)

Jones speculates that the three naturalized Japanese were crew members of Japanese ships brought to the islands in the 1840s ("Naturalization of Orientals in Hawaii Prior to 1900" 68).

2.10

Just two years after Japanese migrant workers began arriving in Hawai‘i, in 1887, White Settlers backed by an armed militia forced King Kalākaua to adopt a so-called “Bayonet” Constitution, which limited his powers; it also established property, income, and literacy requirements for voting, to limit the Hawaiian vote. Van Dyke summarizes voting under the new constitution, with reference to the two legislative branches of the constitutional monarchy, the Nobles and the House of Representatives:

> To vote for the Nobles, one had to be a tax-paying male resident twenty years of age “of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent” who could “read and comprehend an ordinary newspaper in either Hawaiian, English or some European language” who had resided in the Kingdom for three years or more and met the “stiff property qualification” of owning at least $3000 in taxable property or having an annual income of $600/year. The same requirements applied to voters for the House of Representatives, except that the property/income requirement was eliminated. (96–97)

That voters had to be “of Hawaiian, American or European birth or descent” eliminated any Asian voters. “European birth or descent” and “ European language” were included in the requirements to allow qualified, literate Portuguese and other White immigrants (British, French, and German) to vote, in order to help White American Settlers get elected, although, even with the additional White voters, White voters were outnumbered by Native voters.

2.11

While Japanese workers didn’t have voting rights and weren’t citizens, they had to pay taxes. In “A Portal to the Past: Property Taxes in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i” (41, Table 3. 1883 Kingdom Taxes), Thomas A. Woods lists the kinds of taxes collected in 1883:

- Special taxes on horses, cattle, dogs, carriages and wagons
- Personal property taxes on household furniture and effects, goods, chattels, wares and merchandise, ships, and vessels

- Real property taxes on lands, town lots, with buildings, structures
- A poll tax of $1 per person on every male 17 to 60 (a tax on a "poll," or a "head," that is, on an individual, not related to voting)
- A school tax of $2 on every male inhabitant of the kingdom between twenty and sixty years old
- A road tax of $2 on every male inhabitant of the kingdom between the ages of seventeen and fifty

In 1893, Commissioner Blount reported on the amount of taxes paid by the various ethnic groups:

> The minister of finance informs me that the taxes paid by Americans and Europeans amount to $274,516.74; those by natives, $71,386.82; half castes, $26,868.68; Chinese, $87,266.10; Japanese, $67,326.07; other nationalities, $729.82. (Document 259. "No. 11. Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 1, 1893" 477).

Surprisingly, the Japanese paid only a little less total taxes than the Hawaiians and Chinese, even though the Japanese were mainly laborers and owned much less land and personal property than those two groups. Blount reports that in 1890, out of the 9,837 Japanese males, 9565 (97%) were laborers; of the 3% who found other kinds of work, there were 36 farmers, 3 fishermen, 2 mariners, 4 drivers and teamsters, 42 mechanics, 27 merchants and traders, 20 clerks and salesman, 23 professional men and teachers, and 115 with "other occupations." Of the 1,418 women, all except fourteen were laborers (Document 259, "Table 6. Classification of each nationality and sex by occupation" 484). Only four (out of a total of 12,360) Japanese residents paid taxes on 200 acres, out of a total of 1.85 million acres on which property was collected; 478 Europeans and Americans residents (out of a total of 11,277) paid taxes on 1,052,492 acres; 3,666 Natives and Half-Natives (out of a total of 40,618) paid taxes on 789,002 acres; and 226 Chinese (out of a total of 15,301) owned 12,324 acres (Document 259, "Table 7.—Classification of each nationality and sex by social condition, education, school attendance, possession of electoral franchise, and ownership of real estate" 485).

The tax revenue from the Japanese came not from the land and

property taxes, but the other taxes—the poll tax, the school tax, and the road tax. The poll tax ($1), school tax ($2), and road tax ($2) totaled $5 per male, so the Kingdom collected at least $49,185 from the 9,837 Japanese male workers. That would leave $18,141.07 of the $67,326.07 of tax revenue collected from the Japanese workers unaccounted for. Where did that amount come from?

One explanation might be that the figures that the minister of finance gave Blount in 1893 weren't for the census year 1890, but 1891, when 5,854 additional Japanese workers arrived from Japan (Odo and Sinoto 43, "Table 5. Japanese Immigration to Hawai‘i Under Government Contract, 1885–1894"). Assuming the percentage of the 5,854 new workers who arrived in 1891 and were male was about the same as the percentage in 1890 (87%), 5,093 additional male workers paying $5 each in poll, school, and road taxes would have contributed an additional $25,464 in taxes to the Republic's treasury. Only 71% of that amount ($18,141.07) was collected. Perhaps some workers had already left Hawai‘i after their three-year contracts ended; presumably, some had died, and their ashes sent home to Japan or buried in a cemetery in Hawai‘i. Between 1885 and 1924, when the US banned Japanese emigration, 29,000 deaths were recorded among the Japanese in Hawai‘i (Kenji Goto, in Kotani 2).

The tax revenue from Japanese workers paid for roads, schools, and other services that benefited the Native and White citizens of the Kingdom. The workers who came on three-year contracts probably didn't do much traveling on the roads because they lived and worked on plantation land; and not many attended school. According to the Blount report, only thirty-three (33) Japanese were attending the Kingdom's public school in 1890, 21 men and 12 women. The beneficiaries of the school taxes were those who had children in school; according to Blount, those attending school included 5,302 Hawaiians, 1,756 "Half-caste" Hawaiians, 1,904 Hawaiian-born "foreigners," and 1,270 Portuguese (Document 259, "Table 7.—Classification of each nationality and sex by social condition, education, school attendance, possession of electoral franchise, and ownership of real estate" 484). The teachers, whose salaries were paid by the school tax, were mostly English-speaking White Americans or assimilated Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians. Wealthy Whites and Hawaiians, of course, didn't send their children to public schools; their children went to private schools like Punahou, in Honolulu, established in 1841.

2.12

Six years after the "Bayonet" Constitution was imposed on Kalākaua, White planters forced the abdication of Queen Lili‘uokalani, who succeeded Kalākaua after his death in 1891. The insurrectionists established a provisional government in 1893, then the Republic of White Oligarchs in 1894.

Did the Japanese in Hawai‘i participate with Whites in overthrowing the Hawaiian Kingdom, as the myth of Asian Settler Colonialism would suggest? Maude Jones reports only one participant—Tomo Abe, who "carried a gun" in support of the insurrection, which earned him a "special citizenship" in the Republic of White Oligarchs ("Naturalization of Orientals in Hawaii Prior to 1900" 69; for details about Tomo Abe and his special citizenship, see subsection 1.24 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected' Ideas ... .")

Another supporter of the White planters was Jirō Okabe (1864–1925), a Japanese missionary recruited by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association in 1889 to convert Japanese workers to Christianity. According to Nakagawa and Reddington, after the overthrow, a rumor spread that "Japanese plantation workers at Ewa" had rioted and were "approaching Honolulu." The rumor turned out to be false. However, Okabe armed himself and joined the Civilian Guard, organized by White plantation owners to put down "riots" that might take place in support of the Monarchy (47). Okabe "feared that the immigration problem would get worse because of the rash behavior of the Japanese" (47). What "immigration problem" would get worse isn't clear. Nakagawa and Reddington also assert, "Among the Japanese, there were those who, like Okabe, joined the republican volunteer corps and tried to quell the riots" (47). The authors don't report who or how many. They add, "there were also many who supported the royalists" (47), without specifying who or how many.

According to Nakagawa and Reddington, Okabe's support of the Whites who overthrew the Monarchy "led to distrust among those Japanese immigrants who supported the royalists. As a result, it was difficult for Okabe to stay in Honolulu" (48). He left Honolulu in July 1895, six months after the Republic of White Oligarchs put down a royalist attempt to restore the Queen to the throne.

Members of the Japanese Patriotic League, an ad hoc nationalist group of immigrants based in San Francisco, viewed the overthrow of the Monarchy as an opportunity for Japan to take over Hawai‘i from Whites. One of the leaders of the group, Sugawara Tsutau, arrived in Hawai‘i in 1893 with three other members, with a quixotic dream of persuading the 20,000 or so Japanese plantation workers to become naturalized citizen under the new White-controlled Republic, so that the male workers could outvote Whites and Hawaiians and take control of the government. The notion, of course, was absurd. The White Oligarchy wasn't dumb enough to adopt a Constitution that would allow Japanese workers to become naturalized citizens and vote them out of office. And anyway, most of the plantations workers came to Hawai‘i to earn money, not to participate in governance.

Eiichirō Azuma, a professor of History and Asian American Studies, published a detailed study of Japanese Patriotic League's "peaceful expansion" activity, in *In Search of Our Frontier: Japanese America and Settler Colonialism in the Construction of Japan's Borderless Empire* (2019). The Japanese nationalist group had its roots in Japan and was made up of "certain Japanese intellectuals and political factions" who, between 1884 and 1894, advocated a global "emigration-led national expansion" that would colonize both America and Hawai‘i to create a borderless Japanese nation that would spread across Asia and the Pacific (Azuma 29–30).

Azuma describes the peaceful expansionists as a hodge-hodge of "Meiji oligarchs, government bureaucrats, party politicians, journalists, scholars, businessmen, and impecunious young students (shosei)" (32). Mainly of samurai background, they were critical of the Meiji government's program to send surplus workers overseas to work on plantations and farms to earn foreign capital to fund the nation's industrialization and militarization. The Japanese Patriotic League wanted the government to send nationalistic, entrepreneurial emigrants to start businesses and farms that would become the mercantilist foundation of a new borderless Japanese Empire (33). Azuma calls what the peaceful expansionists were trying to accomplish "Japanese settler colonialism" because it was similar to European and American settler colonialism, on which it was modeled.

Fujikane and her Asian Settler Club members confuse the Japanese Patriotic League's "peaceful expansion" plan with the Meiji

government's program of sending surplus workers overseas. Citing Eiko Kosasa, a political science professor at Leeward Community College, Fujikane asserts, "the Japanese government later considered the emigration of its workers as part of its "peaceful expansion" policy (18). However, the Meiji government didn't adopt or pursue the Patriotic League's "peaceful expansion" or "settler colonialism." To acquire colonies and expand Japan's territory and resources, the Meiji government planned to send its Army and Navy (not contract laborers, farm workers, or businessmen) to invade and occupy countries in Asia.

Kosasa's ancestors, however, may have belonged to the Japanese Patriotic League and participated in the "peaceful expansion" plot to take over Hawai‘i; at least, the time frame of her ancestor's arrival and her family's class (apparently shizoku, former samurai) fits the profile of the "peaceful expansionists" who came to Hawai‘i just before the turn of the century to attempt to replace White Settlers with Japanese Settlers. Fujikane quotes Kosasa: "I am a sansei whose grandfather journeyed to Hawai‘i in 1898 from Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan. After Tokugawa Ieyasu seized the Ōsaka Castle in the early 1600s, my ancestors fled Ōsaka and settled in the Iwate area where they lived for 400 years. Prior to that they lived in the Ōsaka area for many generations. My genealogical heritage in Japan is long, while it consists of only three generations in Hawai‘i" (*Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* 21; for the leadership role of immigrants of samurai family background in "peaceful expansion" and "settler colonialism," see the discussion in 2.14 below.)

2.14

Azuma identifies Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) as "the most influential ideologue in the initial phase of the formation of this expansionistic discourse" advocating settler colonialism (32). Fukuzawa was an educator and philosopher of low-ranking samurai ancestry whose "core assertions included mercantilist expansion, racial superiority, and agricultural settler colonialism." Fukuzawa believed "Japanese traders ... should emigrate abroad in large numbers, creating new markets for Japanese products in the land of their new residence. The growth of exports through the medium of emigrant merchants would promote Japan's domestic industrial expansion" (33).

Fukuzawa modeled his proposed expansion on the British Colonial

Empire, which dominated world trade during the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century (32–33). The plan was also based on the American occupation and development of its Western frontier lands and on thriving Chinese businesses that Fukuzawa saw when he visited San Francisco (33). Azuma comments, “Fukuzawa’s naïve faith in the universalist virtue of modern civilization blinded him to the problem of race, making Japan’s foremost scholar continuously optimistic about his people’s ability to emulate not just Chinese but also Anglo-Saxon accomplishments” (33).

Meiji’s policy of sending surplus laborers overseas and Fukuzawa’s dream of sending entrepreneurs and traders overseas both fell under the guiding slogan of the Meiji government, “Rich nation, strong military” (富国強兵, fukoku kyōhei). Fukuzawa, however, was critical of the Meiji’s government because he didn’t think uneducated former peasants could understand or be motivated by national policy and patriotism (and luckily, for the former peasants, he was right). As Azuma explains:

> Fukuzawa argued that emigration was not simply a pursuit of individual happiness and profit, but rather a patriotic deed that had serious implications for the future of modern Japan. He envisioned that emigrant traders would serve as a “commercial linkage between their homeland and their new country of residence.” Fukuzawa likened such traders to loyal soldiers who would sacrifice their lives to defend their homeland (33-34).

The Confucian classification of citizens as samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants was discontinued after the restoration of Emperor rule and the transformation of the Japanese economy from feudalism to capitalism, but members of the former samurai class like Fukuzawa continued to express their disdain for the former peasant class, to which the vast majority of immigrant workers to Hawai‘i and America belonged:

> According to Fukuzawa, not everyone was capable of competing as an immigrant entrepreneur and demonstrating innate superiority. He was very specific about who should emigrate, for he felt that “the enrichment of Japan” was contingent upon whether an emigrant possessed certain traits that would enable him to act as a “loyal subject” of the modern nation-state. Fukuzawa’s thinking specifically mirrored the

> Meiji intellectuals' class bias toward shizoku, or people of samurai background, as well as their prevailing distrust of the Japanese peasantry's capacity to be self-conscious "nationals" (34).

For some odd reason, Fukuzawa and his samurai minions believed that America would welcome samurai emigrants as compatriots in the development of a modern, globalized world. He suffered from the provincialism that was not uncommon in Meiji Japan, when Japan was emerging from two and a half centuries of isolation from the rest of the world. From the 1630s, the Tokugawa Shogunate, samurai who ruled Japan from 1603–1868, adopted a policy of Sākoku (鎖国, "National Isolation, literally, "Chained Country") during which all but one of its ports, Nagasaki, were closed to foreigners, and only Chinese and Dutch traders were allowed to enter that port. Japanese citizens were prohibited from traveling abroad except on diplomatic missions. Fukuzawa's knowledge of the West was superficial, acquired mainly from reading books by liberal Western philosophers. In 1860, Fukuzawa visited San Francisco for a month with a shogunate delegation, and in 1862, he traveled to Europe for a year as a translator with a Japanese diplomatic delegation.

During the 1880s, when Fukuzawa and his peaceful expansionists tried to implement their settler colonialism plan in America, they discovered that America was already occupied by White racist colonialists who didn't want to share the bounty of their occupied lands with Asians.

2.15

By the time Fukuzawa movement began in 1884, based in part on the success of overseas Chinese entrepreneurs in San Francisco, America's racists had already banned Chinese immigration, in 1882. When the Chinese began emigrating to America in the mid-nineteenth century to mine gold and provide labor to build the transcontinental railroad, they were labeled "cheap labor" and accused of taking jobs from White workers. White labor unions attacked them verbally and physically. Chinese entrepreneurs who began establishing businesses in San Francisco and other towns were accused of taking over the economy by producing cheap goods with cheap labor. An 1881 cartoon titled "The Coming Man," was published in *The Wasp*, a Sinophobic newspaper

that supported the anti-Chinese movement on the West Coast by stoking White fear and loathing of Chinese entrepreneurs. The title of the paper was an acronym for "White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant" or WASP (and a pun on the name of a stinging insect).

"The Coming Man" (George F. Keller): the boxes and items below the hand of "Monopoly" are labeled "clothing factories," "box factory," "shirt manufacturing," "underwear," "laundries," and cigars, which Chinese businesses imported from Cuba.

After the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the Chinese who were still in America were periodically lynched, massacred, and driven out of towns.

2.16

A US-Japan treaty signed in 1894 granted Japanese citizens the right to enter the US to work and guaranteed them the same rights in the country as White immigrants, except for the right to become naturalized citizens. US Naturalization law gave that right only to White or Black aliens. Still Japanese emigrants began arriving on the West Coast because of what they saw as opportunities to earn money in America as farm laborers or as entrepreneurs. In 1890, the US census recorded 2,039 Japanese in America; by 1900, 24,326 were counted, 10,151 of them in California (Daniels).

Azuma describes the failure of an early attempt by Fukuzawa's settler colonialism movement in California. Fukuzawa sent Inoue Kakugorō to establish a farming colony. Previously Fukuzawa had sent Inoue to Korea to help that nation "modernize under Japanese guidance" (35). After that project failed, Fukuzawa turned to America:

> In June 1887 a group of some thirty men and women under Inoue's leadership departed Japan to establish a new settlement in rural California. In order for them to acquire an initial twenty acres in Valley Springs, Calaveras County, thirty-five miles west of Stockton, Fukuzawa provided the group with $10,000. Kai Orie, a Keiō alumnus who had opened the first Japanese business in San Francisco in response to Fukuzawa's earlier urging, acted as an intermediary for all business transactions relating to this colonization scheme on behalf of his mentor. In line with his entrepreneurial expansionism plan, Fukuzawa expected the modest farm settlement to serve as a cornerstone of greater national expansion in North America, facilitating further migration and exports from Japan. Inoue's agricultural colony was also expected to form a vital economic circuit with Kai's commercial enterprise [in San Francisco] for Japanese development on the American frontier. [Keiō was a private school founded by Fukuzawa in Tōkyō in 1858 to teach Western Studies to Japanese students; the school became a university in 1890.]
>
> Sending his disciple off on this transpacific venture, Fukuzawa emphasized the advantages of establishing control over land to eke out an independent living rather than working here and there in competition with white and other workers. Yet

> Fukuzawa and Inoue also felt that those of shizoku [samurai] origin would be too "noble" and hence inexperienced for the type of manual labor required for turning barren fields into agricultural land. They made sure that although the settlers included a few Keiō graduates, the majority were of farming background [i.e., peasants]. While the main contingent worked on the farm, Inoue had some recruits engage in railroad work to earn extra income. In January 1888 Inoue returned to Japan to secure more funds and additional emigrant settlers for the expansion of the colony. Confident that this venture enjoyed favorable prospects, Fukuzawa pledged an additional $20,000. However, the project unexpectedly came to a halt. Inoue was prevented from leaving Japan when the police took him into custody for his past political activities in Korea. Unable to sustain the operation of the farm without additional funds and their leader, the remaining settlers eventually abandoned the colony and dispersed. (36)

Azuma also describes two failed attempts at agricultural colonization in the State of Washington. In 1888, one group of Japanese expansionists led by two who had settled in Seattle went to "the Lake Washington area to carve out a 'new Japan' there"; it turned out to be another "unsuccessful endeavor at frontier conquest." Still, that inspired another attempt in 1889 in nearby Snoqualmie, which also failed. Azuma summarizes, "All of these settler-colonial schemes in the American West ended in failure due to poor planning, as well as the practitioners' lack of capital and farming experience" (43–44).

2.17

In 1888, Fukuzawa's peaceful expansionists congregated in San Francisco and formed the Japanese Patriotic League to promote the colonization of America (40). The members worked in urban jobs to support themselves while publishing bulletins and newspapers expounding their ridiculous ideas (41). Their dreams of colonizing the American West began evaporating in the harsh reality of White racism. The "Fear-the-Chink-Takeover" rhetoric shifted to "Fear-the-Jap-Takeover." Azuma describes the anti-Jap campaign:

> ... in the spring of 1892 an organized racist press campaign

> against Japanese in San Francisco drove a decisive wedge between their self-consciousness as racially superior and the contrary reality of being minoritized in white supremacist California. Ten years after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act, San Francisco newspapers cranked out one report after another on the new "Oriental" threat, drawing a parallel between the excluded Chinese and the increasing Japanese in the midst of the white republic. (45)

Azuma notes that when the Japanese entered America's "frontier economies" to replace the Chinese "as a chief source of labor ..., [i] t was not surprising that the white exclusionist gaze shifted quickly to the new 'Oriental' hordes from Japan, provoking a resurgence of racist rhetoric and political actions against Japanese newcomers" (44). The White racists didn't distinguish between Chinese and Japanese, or between samurai and peasants: to them, all Asians were inferior and unassimilable to the American Way of Life. Eventually, the settlers of "peaceful expansion" realized that White racists didn't see them as enlightened, benign progressives, or as equals, but as disgusting inferiors, like the already excluded Chinese:

> Under escalating racist assaults, the settlers' optimistic outlook on overseas Japanese development on the New World frontier suffered a rude wake-up call. This firsthand experience of white supremacy, of which immigrant expansionists indignantly and sensationally informed their friends in Japan, complicated the idea of racial compatibility that Fukuzawa and other westernizers had propagated in their rendition of modernity as universal. To many immigrant expansionists in California, it came to look as if being modern, civilized, and expansive did not automatically earn the Japanese fair treatment and acceptance. With this realization, race increasingly became an important matter of consideration in Japanese expansionist discourse, and the view of a particular "frontier" often hinged on the state of race relations—or specifically that of "racial struggle"—in that location. (45)

The Japanese expansionists had to rethink their plans to expand Japan's "borderless" national boundaries eastward:

> North America appeared to have too many white residents,

> especially Anglo-Saxonists, who refused to treat Japanese as equal partners in the epic historical project of frontier settlement and development. And this message from the front lines of the interracial clash greatly influenced how their homeland compatriots imagined and debated the course and possibility of national expansion in a world dominated by white men. As a biography of a Patriotic League founder describes, the "disillusionment about the land of the free became all the more prevalent" within and without Japan due to the San Francisco incidents. (45)

After 1892, the expansionist propaganda newspaper *Ensei* (*Expedition*) "revealed little trace of its earlier optimism,"

> ... lamenting instead the "prevalence of white domination" that "would not allow other races to prosper" in California. In order to ensure the favorable outcome of Japanese immigration and colonization, the bulletin editorialized, it was imperative to search for "an untouched land with a people and political system that would not dare to shut us out." No longer did the American West embody such a site. (46)

2.18

In 1893, the Japanese expansionists turned their gaze to the recently overthrown Hawaiian Kingdom, where 20,000 Japanese migrant workers outnumbered the less than 2,000 White Settlers. One Japanese expansionist wrote in May, "a well-devised plan would be vital for Hawai‘i's Japanese to take power away from 'the foreign (white) race,' who 'had been trampling Hawai‘i' as they wished with no regard for 'weak' and 'doomed' natives" (Azuma 46).

Nagasawa Betten, a samurai expansionist, "offered by far the most systematic blueprint for the peaceful takeover of Hawai‘i in the face of a US-backed coup d'état in his 1893 treatise *Yankii* (*Yankee*)" (Azuma 46). After being subjected to White racism in California while attending Stanford University in 1891, Nagasawa came to believe in a fantasy that world history for the last millennium was a racial struggle between the Mongolian race and the Aryan race, and that the Japanese, who were now the leaders of the Mongolian race, were destined to take control of the world. According to Azuma, Nagasawa believed that

"Hawai'i formed the first notable site for the epic struggle between the Japanese and Anglo-Saxons in modern times" (47-48). Furthermore,

> Nagasawa appeared cautiously optimistic about the outcome of racial struggle in Hawai'i, not only because the Japanese outnumbered whites but also because he firmly believed in the racial superiority of his compatriots. According to the San Francisco–based immigrant, the upper hand that white capitalists had over Hawai'i's sugar industry resulted primarily from the racial and cultural "deficiency" of the native islanders, who would "rather dance the hula than sacrifice their lives for the sake of their nation." With their "superior" qualities, however, once they joined forces to apply their racial talent, the Japanese—even plantation workers—would be able to overwhelm other groups, bring Hawai'i's politics and economy under their control, and consolidate a firm underpinning for a new Japan in the islands. (48)

Nagasawa hoped the Japanese immigrants could establish a permanent colony in Hawai'i as part of a new borderless Japan:

> Nagasawa, as well as other Japanese expansionists based in California, thought that immigrants should put down roots permanently in a foreign land to undertake a colonial venture of lasting influence. In Hawai'i, the vast majority of Japanese residents had lacked commitment to their new land and its colonial potential, thereby preventing them from moving past the status of subjugated plantation workers. Because they went as dekasegi (temporary) workers with the self-centered intention of making quick money before returning to rural Japanese villages, Nagasawa felt that the laboring masses did not possess the kind of mental disposition required of patriotic agents of overseas national expansion.
>
> While some pundits stressed the need for preemigration screening to weed out those with deficient patriotic sentiments, Nagasawa presented a concrete postemigration measure to convert dekasegi workers into full-fledged settler-colonists with a strong nationalist consciousness. Estimating the total monthly income of all of Hawai'i's Japanese at around $160,000, he recommended that $60,000 be set aside every month to establish

> a special fund for the systematic promotion of Japanese commerce and farming in the islands. It should be deposited at a new Japanese-run industrial bank, which would play a leading role in housing development and real estate acquisition to create autonomous Japanese settlements all over Hawai‘i. Leadership, of course, should come from self-proclaimed frontiersmen, such as Nagasawa and his colleagues. (48–49)

Nagasawa fantasized that Japanese schools built in Hawai‘i would be able to promote a nationalist ethos and transform the Issei (first generation) of Japanese migrant workers and their Nisei (second generation) children into an army of patriots loyal to the Emperor:

> The national identity of immigrants and their local-born children must be kept undiluted through sustained educational efforts at nationalization. In this vein, Nagasawa insisted that Japanese grammar schools be built all through the Hawaiian islands for the preservation of their primary allegiance to the emperor, since local public education was currently designed to make them “Americans in their ideas and beliefs” under the dictates of white Christian missionaries from the United States. It was necessary to offset the process of “Americanization” by “imperializing” the future generation of Japanese settlers, that is, by a concerted effort at cultural preservation that would in turn ensure the maximum exertion of their racial strength. (49)

In 1872, the Japanese government had begun a compulsory education system in Japan to do what Nagasawa suggested the schools in Hawai‘i should be designed to do, that is, to instill in the children of former peasants a national identity with allegiance to the Emperor. Of course, many, if not most of the migrant workers who began arriving in Hawai‘i in 1885 weren’t subjected to that compulsory education since the system was still being established, hence Nagasawa’s advocacy of a similar education system in Hawai‘i to carry out a nationalistic mission there.

2.19

For Nagasawa’s fantasy of a Japanese takeover to become a reality, the Japanese had to wrest control of the government of Hawai‘i from

Whites. Since Nagasawa and the expansionists were "peaceful" (that is, intellectuals with no military backing to impose their will on anyone), they focused on gaining suffrage for the male contract laborers, who would then, supposedly, vote the samurai expansionists into political offices (50). Coincidentally (or not), the Japanese Patriotic League in San Francisco came up with same absurd idea and "rushed over to Honolulu from San Francisco to 'counteract' the white conspiracy supported by US imperialism" (50) and advocate for suffrage for Japanese workers:

> In January 1893 Sugawara Tsutau and three other leaders sailed to Honolulu, where they managed to unite forces with a circle of local Japanese immigration activists. They traveled around the islands propagating their views, hoping to affect the consciousness of common plantation workers and marshal support from them. ... As Sugawara later explained, they focused on the need for Japanese male suffrage in order to create a politically level playing field for unmediated racial competition and to arrest the ascendancy of US imperialism over Hawai'i. (51)

The expansionist Nagasawa also showed up in Honolulu "armed with a pistol and a book of poetry by Lord Byron," ready to join the fight, only to discover that the fight was already over and Whites were in control. He departed, leaving to the members the Patriotic League to advocate for suffrage for Japanese workers (Azuma 50).

The members of the Japanese Patriotic League organized a small cadre of the "immigrant intelligentsia of the islands, including Buddhist priests and Christian ministers"—a "political mobilization" that included about 500 members, over 300 in Honolulu and over 150 in Hilo (Azuma 52). The local supporters of suffrage formed what they called the Japanese Alliance (日本人同盟, Nihonjin Dōmei). Azuma notes that only a few of the members were plantation workers. The towns of Honolulu and Hilo were the hubs of activity (52). One of the league's local supporter was Uchida Jūkichi, a physician who started the *Hawai Shinbun*, the second Japanese language newspaper in Honolulu. Uchida served as president of the Japanese Alliance (Odo and Sinoto 145–146).

One aspiring migrant farmer who joined the Alliance was Ōtsuki Kōnosuke, who was perhaps one of the four Japanese males whom

the Blount report identified as owning 200 acres of land in 1890 (Document 259, “Table 6. Classification of each nationality and sex by occupations” 484). After completing his three-year work contract for a plantation, Ōtsuki left “to grow sugarcane and coffee on his own ... and operated a sugar mill in the early 1890s near Hilo while striving to establish an autonomous ‘all-Japanese village’” (Azuma 2). After Japan took Taiwan from China in 1895, he migrated there to use his Hawai‘i experience and expertise in tropical farming to help establish a Japanese colony.

In 1893, subgroups of the Japanese Alliance calling themselves “concerned residents” submitted four petitions to the Japanese consulate in Honolulu, all of them demanding “that Tokyo take a proactive role in championing the cause of national expansion and render its full support for their struggle to secure suffrage in Hawai‘i” (Azuma 52).

A partial translation of one of the petitions was published in *The Liberal*, a Honolulu newspaper established by part-Hawaiian Robert W. Wilcox, who two years later, in 1895, would serve as a commander in an armed counter-rebellion to restore the Monarchy. (Wilcox and his comrades didn’t fit the stereotype promoted by the racist Japanese nationalistic Nagasawa, who viewed Hawaiians as patriotically deficient, preferring to “dance the hula than sacrifice their lives for the sake of their nation.”)

Under the title “Copy of the Japanese Petition to Count Ito, Japanese Prime Minister,” the partial translation of the petition appeared on the front page of *The Liberal* on April 8, 1893, just three months after the overthrow. The editor thanked T.O. Sugawara, H. Inouye, K. Kamio, and Sakurada, “representatives of the Japanese Patriotic League of California,” for providing the translation. Azuma refers to T.O. Sugawara as Sugawara Tsutau; Kimura refers to him as Den Sugawara and identifies H. Inouye as Heizaburō Inouye (15). She asserts that the two were able to persuade two men, Tamekichi Abe and Kenzaburō Ozawa, to apply for naturalization, and she reports that they became “subjects of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i” (15–16). Abe was probably the Tomo Abe, or Tom Abbey, who was naturalized by the Provisional Government for his support of the insurrectionists. (See section 2.12 above.)

2.20

The translated petition published in The Liberal is full of the anti-White

rhetoric of the Japanese Patriotic League. The petitioners complain that although Americans are only one-ninth of the population, they "control nearly all the business interests" and "have everything their own way, and run things to suit themselves"; furthermore, even though the Japanese were "physically and intellectually equals of any of the foreigners," the Japanese "are not allowed to say one word regarding the form of government we live under," "must tamely submit to the rule of others," and "have no protection for our lives and property." The translation also notes that the Japanese number 20,000, or "one-fourth of the entire population" of 95,000 residents. (Actually, 21%, or "one-fifth," not "one-fourth.")

It's hard to imagine how the Japanese voting scheme the Alliance concocted would work since it was highly unlikely that the White insurrectionists would allow Japanese citizens to naturalize and vote them out of office. In the "Bayonet" Constitution, the Whites had taken control of the government by excluding Native voters with restrictions based on property, income, and literacy requirements and banning Asians from naturalizing or voting.

Any Japanese takeover of the new government would require a treaty negotiated between the Japanese government and the Republic of White Oligarchs to give the Japanese workers the right to naturalize and vote; or an armed intervention by a military force sent by the Emperor. Azuma notes that one of the four petitions submitted requested that the Japanese government "dispatch a few warships" to "ensure the safety of [Japanese] residents in Hawai'i" and "protect their political rights" (52). However the abbreviated petition published in The Liberal doesn't mention an invasion (the petitioners were "peaceful" expansionists), only that since the White government might soon be negotiating treaties with Japan and other countries, it was "an opportune moment for the [Japanese] government to endeavor to place [Japanese residents] upon an equal political basis with other foreigners," including the rights to naturalize and vote. The translation of the petition concludes, "It is not merely because of numerical strength that we wish political suffrage, but to maintain the dignity of the 40,000,000 Japanese in Japan.""

2.21

Dean Itsuji Saranillio, a member of Fujikane's Asian Settlers Club, confuses the Japanese Patriotic League with Japanese migrant workers. An assistant professor of Social and Cultural Analysis at New

York University, then an Associate Professor in Political Sciences at the UH (2025), Saranillio, identifies Fujikane as “my oldest sister” (“Why Asian Settler Colonialism Matters” 291). In “Colliding Histories: Hawai‘i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians ‘Ineligible to Citizenship’ and Hawaiians ‘Unfit for Self-Government,’” after overgeneralizing that after World War II, Japanese Americans promoted assimilation, Statehood, and voting, and “reaffirmed the United States as an exceptionalist nation-state devoid of both debilitating racism and settler colonialism,” he asserts:

> What has been less visible to many, if not rendered natural and normal, is how Asian projects for equality with white settlers and inclusion into the United States have actually helped form political projects and identities in opposition to or at the expense of those Native Hawaiians seeking self-government. For instance, on April 9, 1893, a little more than two months after the U.S.-backed overthrow, Japanese plantation laborers [my italics] submitted a petition that did not oppose the overthrow of Hawai‘i but rather demanded their electoral participation in the new settler government, stating that they were the “physical and intellectual” equals of any of the other foreigners. (300)

Saranillio’s claim that “Japanese plantation laborers” submitted the petition for suffrage is, of course, false. (See subsections 2.19 and 2.20 above.) Saranillio cites as his source the notes of Kathleen Dickenson Mellen, which are located in the Bishop Museum Archives. Mellen wrote prolifically about Hawai‘i. Her poorly written/poorly typed “Notes on Annexation” (MS 19) “summarizes” the translation of the petition by the Japanese Alliance published in *The Liberal* on April 8, 1893 (not April 9, as Saranillio, following Mellen’s notes, mistakenly indicates.) Mellen’s summary states that the petition came from “Japs,” not from “Japanese plantation workers.”

Fortunately, scholars today don’t have to depend on Mellen’s notes or Saranillio’s inaccurate paraphrasing to find out who sent the petition or what it said. The April 8, 1893 edition of *The Liberal* is posted online at the *Pakakilo Database*, sponsored by the State Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The petitioners didn’t lobby for Hawai‘i’s “inclusion into the United States,” as Saranillio implies; the advocates of Japanese settler colonialism wanted to take over the islands from the White insurrectionists and make Hawai‘i a colony of Japan. The part that

Saranillio got right is that the Japanese colonial project would come "at the expense of those Native Hawaiians seeking self-government"; but it would also come at the expense of Whites and the United States..

In "Colliding Histories,'" Saranillio also writes confusedly about the Issei, "Labeled 'ineligible to [sic] citizenship' with the passing of racist American laws, this first generation would have to wait for their children to come of voting age to gain political representation" (295). The Issei didn't become "ineligible to citizenship" "with the passing of racist American laws"; US naturalization laws were passed long before the Issei arrived, in 1790 (White only) and 1870 (Blacks included), but those laws didn't apply in the Hawaiian Kingdom, or the Republic of White Oligarchs (1893-1898). Whites excluded Japs from citizenship in the Kingdom of Hawai'i and in the Republic they established in 1894. When America annexed Hawai'i in 1898, Japs were already excluded from citizenship under US law. The contract laborers who came before US annexation in 1898 and the migrant workers who came after it weren't "waiting" for "their children to come of voting age to gain political representation." They didn't need political representation to accomplish what they came to Hawai'i to do, which was to earn money, and most had no interests in gaining suffrage to participate in local politics or control the government, which was why they didn't join the Japanese Patriotic League or the Japanese Alliance.

2.22

After the overthrow of the Monarchy in January, 1893, the Meiji government dispatched its armored cruiser *Naniwa* to Honolulu as a precautionary measure, to protect its citizens in case of an outbreak of violence. *Naniwa* arrived in February.

No violence was directed at Japanese workers following the Overthrow, so the *Naniwa* left. While it was there, however, Walter G. Smith, editor of the *Hawaiian Star* newspaper ("established by the Annexation Club for the purpose of advocating annexation") went with US Minister to Hawai'i John L. Stevens to US Commissioner Blount to deliver a false warning that "it had been arranged between the Queen and the Japanese commissioner that if the American flag and troops [from the USS Boston] were removed [from Honolulu,] the troops from the Japanese man of war *Naniwa* would land and reinstate the Queen," Blount didn't find the warning credible. He reported to President

The Imperial Japanese Navy cruiser Naniwa, designed, built, and launched for Japan by its ally Britain in 1885. Mikasa Memorial Museum, Yokosuka. (Public Domain).

Cleveland that when the Japanese commissioner in Honolulu found out about the rumor, the commissioner wrote to Tōkyō asking that the *Naniwa* be ordered to leave, and it left Honolulu without landing any troops (Document 265, "No. 17. Mr. Blount to Mr. Gresham. Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, July 17, 1893" 506).

The four petitions from the Japanese Patriotic League to Prime Minister Ito advocating Japanese suffrage did result in a diplomatic protest:

> In response to these petitions, as well as "public opinion [that] prevail[ed] in the Imperial Cabinet and the Parliament," Tokyo eventually protested Japanese disenfranchisement to Sanford B. Dole, the President of Hawai‘i's provisional government and first President of the White Republic. (Azuma 52)

Dole ignored the protest, and the Japanese government didn't push the issue because suffrage for its citizens or their participation in governance in Hawai‘i was of little concern to it; it wasn't interested in taking over the White colony. In fact, Japan had already recognized the White provisional government in a letter on January 19, 1893, the day after US Minister Stevens recognized it. Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Spain, Norway, Sweden, The Netherlands, Denmark, Belgium, Mexico, Chile, Peru, and China recognized the provisional government on the same day as the US; the next day, France and Portugal joined Japan with recognition of the insurrectionist

government (Blount, Document 82. "No. 11. The Hawaiian special commissioners to Mr. Foster. Washington, February 3, 1893" 225-226).

The Meiji governments's main concern was that it be allowed to continue to send its surplus labor to Hawai'i. The White sugar plantation owners, greedy for more of the high profits that their plantations produced, continued recruiting workers from Japan. They contracted private Japanese labor companies licensed by the Japanese government to bring more workers. The average wage for the contract workers was lower than what was paid by the Hawaiian Kingdom—$12.50 per month for men rather than $15 (Odo and Sinoto 49).

2.23

In July of 1894, the year the Republic of White Oligarchs was established, Japan went to war against China over control of Korea. The war, which lasted nine month, may have motivated young Japanese from farming families to apply for visas to work overseas, in order to escape the military draft that had been established by the Meiji government in 1873. The conscription law required able-bodied 20-year-olds to serve three years in the military and four additional years in the reserves. Only first sons were exempt, to carry on the family name and inherit the family assets.

For centuries before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, men of the samurai class served as soldiers for their lords. During the two and a half centuries when the Tokugawa Shogunate ruled Japan (1603–1868), and the nation was at peace, the samurai were idle. Under the Meiji government the samurai class was abolished, along with the three other occupational classes (peasants, artisans, and merchants), not because the government no longer needed soldiers, but because the government needed even more soldiers for modern warfare as practiced by Western nations. The government began drafting all able-bodied male citizens, including those of the former peasant, artisan, and merchant classes, now labeled jointly heimen, "commoners" (literally, "ordinary people"), as opposed to kazoku (華族, aristocrats or ruling class, literally, "splendid, glorious, magnificent families") and shizoku (氏族, "warrior families," the former samurai).

The draft was a hardship especially for farming families because draftees would be unavailable for three years to help with farming the family land or working in industrializing cities or overseas to earn wages to help to pay land taxes. And, of course, if a son was wounded

or killed in battle his contribution to the well-being of the family was limited or eliminated. Commoners rioted to protest the draft as well as other government mandates such as paying land taxes in cash, higher taxes, and compulsory schooling (established in 1872), which, like the draft, deprived families of their children's labor to help make their lands productive. Japanese workers were free from the military draft if they went overseas to earn foreign capital for the Meiji government; at the same time, they could continue to help support their families in Japan by sending some of their earnings home.

2.24

After the overthrow of the Monarchy in January, 1893, US President Grover Cleveland (1893–1897) declined to submit to Congress a proposal to annex Hawai‘i, so the White Oligarchy had to put their annexation plan on hold. They established a new government to replace the Monarchy and held a convention in the summer of 1894 to draft and adopt a constitution. There was some support among the delegates for allowing literate Asians to vote, perhaps to give the new government at least a pretense of democracy:

> [Samuel Mills] Damon [a son of White missionaries and minister of finance for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i] and [Alfred S.] Hartwell [a Supreme Court justice in the Kingdom, and the prosecutor of Queen Lili‘uokalani after she was arrested for complicity in the counter-rebellion of 1895] ... believed that such large groups of inhabitants as the Chinese and Japanese ought to have some way of making their desires heard. [William N.] Armstrong [attorney general for the Kingdom and later a lecturer in political science] likewise thought they [i.e., Asians] were "too important to be left to themselves [and] they will be heard in some way." (Russ, *The Hawaiian Republic, 1894-1898* 19)

However, the majority of insurrectionists disagreed:

> [Alexander G.M.] Robertson [a lieutenant in the Honolulu Rifles, the White militia] disagreed: "Asiatics must be shut out; [the] convention will shut them out; [it] must be done." [Lorrin A.] Thurston [one of the racist White leaders who led the overthrow] suggested referring the matter to a committee,

> which at once proceeded to wrestle with the question. Then the problem of the Portuguese [immigrants] came up. Thurston wanted them to be enfranchised because they had supported the provisional government, and Hartwell thought that a government which excluded them would be "beneath contempt." [Frank B.] McStocker [chairman of the Annexation Club Executive Committee], however, said they were ignorant and dangerous. Alexander answered: "I believe in the Portuguese. Their Consul has stood by us." Thurston summed up his feelings about who should vote in the following way: "We made a failure in 1887. We tried to do with low grade voters. Boards will be too lenient in examination, instead of being too strict. We should fix the qualifications high." (Russ, The Hawaiian Republic, 1894-1898 19-20)

The Constitution adopted by the Republic of White Oligarchs in July 1894 gave voting rights to males who were born or naturalized in the Hawaiian Kingdom, which included 763 Chinese; the three Japanese seaman who were naturalized in the 1840s (if they were still alive); and the three Japanese citizens naturalized by the Provisional Government. Any Japanese born in the Hawaiian Kingdom were also citizens, and were granted citizenship in the Republic, although all of them were too young to vote.

Naturalization was limited to citizens or subjects "of a country having express treaty stipulations with the Republic of Hawaii concerning naturalization." Since the Republic of White Oligarchs didn't intend to negotiate such a treaty with Asian countries, Asians were excluded from becoming citizens.

Naturalization required that a person had to (1) "intend to become a permanent citizen of the Republic"; (2) be "able understandingly to read, write and speak the English language" and "intelligently to explain, in his own words, in the English language, the general meaning and intent of any article or articles of this Constitution"; and (3) take an oath of allegiance to the Republic while forswearing "allegiance to the Government of his native land" (*The Constitution Of The Republic Of Hawaii*, Article 18–Naturalization).

Even if a naturalization treaty between Japan and Hawai'i was established, the literacy requirement would have excluded most of the Japanese migrant workers from becoming naturalized. Blount reported on the literacy rates of residents in 1890: of the 12,360 Japanese, only

307 (2.5%) were able to read and write; of the 15,301 Chinese residing in Hawai‘i, 2,022 (13%) were able to read and write. The literacy rate of the 8,602 Portuguese immigrants and their children was higher: 2,426 (28%) were literate. A much larger number of Hawaiians were literate: of the 40,622 “Natives and half-castes,” 27,901 (69%) were able to read and write. Of the 1,928 Americans, 1,724 (89%) were literate. (Document 259, “Table 7. Classification of each nationality and sex by social condition, education, school attendance, possession of electoral franchise, and ownership of real estate” 484).

2.25

With the establishment of the Republic’s constitution in 1894, the Japanese “peaceful expansionists” finally gave up on their fantasy of taking control of Hawai‘i by voting Whites out of office. Azuma notes:

> Thus, despite the concerted efforts by expansionists in San Francisco, Tokyo, and Honolulu/Hilo, Hawai‘i was lost for all practical purposes by 1894, following the fate of anti-Japanese California. Thereafter, there was an exodus of many self-styled Japanese frontiersmen from California and Hawai‘i, because both frontiers dropped out of their imaginary map of Japanese overseas development. Dejected over the monopoly of the mid-Pacific Islands by white American rivals, Sugawara Tsutau and his associates unceremoniously left Hawai‘i. After a brief return to San Francisco to wind up their affairs, they set sail for their home empire, which was rapidly gearing up for its first major imperialist war with China. (53)

However, the expansionist experiences in California and Hawai‘i proved useful in establishing colonies elsewhere. Expansionists returning to Japan were able to use their expertise to assist in establishing Japanese colonies in areas where occupation by the Japanese military or the absence of White hegemony allowed control or at least non-resistance to Japanese colonial efforts. Azuma summarizes their efforts:

> Armed with the vision of settler colonialism bred during their US experience, these returnees subsequently searched for alternative outposts of a new Japan elsewhere. Adapted from the American model of frontier conquest, their settler

> colonialism would spread through Japan's neighboring regions [East and Southeast Asia] and the Nan'yō ["Southern Ocean," the Pacific Ocean south of Japan], which would eventually make up parts of Japan's formal and bona fide colonial empire in the ensuing decades. In the meantime, the minoritized frontiersmen who opted to remain in the American West started to draw a different kind of map for Japanese development, a map that gravitated toward Mexico and its southern neighbors, devoid of white hegemony. Through their discursive intervention and settler-colonial practices, the Asian continent, Southeast Asia, and briefly Oceania, as well as Latin America, emerged as contending frontiers in the transpacific public discourse on and actual endeavors for overseas Japanese development between 1894 and 1908. (53)

While the dream of the peaceful expansionists was kept alive in other places, the dream of colonizing Hawai'i was over before the 1900 US annexation of Hawai'i. The Meiji government never considered or adopted Nagasawa's plan to build schools in Hawai'i to re-educate the migrant workers and their children as patriotic colonial settlers.

2.26

In 1894, the Japanese Army gave the peaceful expansionists a preview of how it intended to get the resources Japan needed to defend its sovereignty against the West. It entered Korea to battle Chinese forces over control of the Korean government and economy, and of Korea's coal and iron resources. Japan also attacked Manchuria and Shandong Province in China. In 1895, the first Sino-Japanese War ended when China sued for peace and ceded Taiwan and the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria to Japan. Russia, France, and Germany, Western colonial powers in Asia, persuaded Japan to return the peninsula in exchange for a larger indemnity payment.

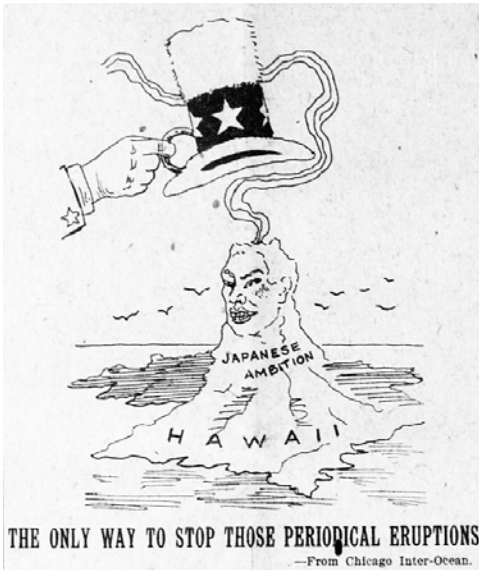
In a chapter titled "Japanese Hawai'i and Its Tropical Nexus," Azuma describes how the "peaceful expansionist" returning from Hawai'i helped colonize Taiwan, using their plantation and farming experiences to establish sugar, pineapple, and coffee industries there.

Through the first four decades of the twentieth century, Japan went to war to expand its territory. In 1941, Imperial Japanese Navy attacked the US Naval Fleet in Pearl Harbor to prevent it from interfering with

Japan's invasion of East and Southeast Asia. (See subsections 3.52 to 3.53 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i." For a long view of events leading up to the Pearl Harbor attack, see "Perry to Pearl Harbor, 1853–1941: a Long, Sometimes Contentious Relationship that Ended in a War," Note 3 in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962*.)

2.27

After the White annexationists established the Republic of White Oligarchs in 1894, they continued to lobby Congress for annexation. One of their arguments was that the US had to take over Hawai'i before the Japs did.



An anti-Jap cartoon suggesting Japan wanted to take over Hawai'i; reprinted from *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, it appeared in the *Hawaiian Gazette* on April 9, 1897

The White Oligarchy knew that the growing number of Japanese migrant workers that it recruited as cheap labor was hindering its case for annexation among the American racists who didn't want a territory with a large population of Japs. To show Congress that it could control or reduce the Japanese population, the Oligarchy concocted a scheme in 1898 to turn away over a thousand Japanese migrant workers it had recruited by accusing them of illegal entry. The Japanese contractors who brought the workers to Honolulu only to have them rejected at the immigration station asked the Japanese government to intervene

and get restitution for their losses. Japan stopped the emigration of its workers and sent the warship *Naniwa* to Honolulu, as it did in 1893, with a special commissioner aboard to investigate the complaint of its labor contractors. The story made the US national news, which was what the White planters had intended (“Japanese Scare in Hawaii,” June 28, 1897).

When *Naniwa* arrived in May with a Japanese commissioner and newspaper reporters aboard, a rumor spread that the cruiser intended to land troops and take over the Hawaiian Custom House where the Immigration Bureau was housed. The Japanese commissioner told the *New York Times* reporter that the rumor was “ridiculous.” Another rumor spread that the Naniwa intended to bombard Honolulu. Journalist and historian Tom Coffman notes that in reality, the Japanese officials on the cruiser planned to return home “after bouts of socializing and drinking” in Honolulu (*Nation Within*). The Japanese newspaper editor who came to report on the issue told the Times, “To speak frankly, I have found that matter was not worth my time and attention.” He recognized that it was fake news.

Four thousand miles east of Japan, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, Hawai‘i wasn’t one of the countries that Japan planned to invade and colonize. What Japan needed—industrial resources like oil, coal, iron ore, and rubber—could be acquired by invading and occupying countries in North, East and Southeast Asia, closer to home. That colonization effort had begun three decades earlier, in 1869, when Japan subjugated the Natives of Hokkaidō, just north of its main islands, annexed the island, and developed an agricultural colony with the help of American advisors. Within ten years, Japan also began mining Hokkaidō’s coal, and later, its iron.

Although the idea of militarily occupying Hawai‘i occasionally came up in informal discussions and communications among Japanese diplomats, military officers, and intellectuals, the Japanese government never planned an invasion or takeover. It didn’t need Pearl Harbor as a naval base from which to launch an attack on the US since it didn’t intend to invade America. It didn’t need Hawai‘i’s sugar plantation because it had already acquired sugar plantations when it annexed the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Okinawa), 300 miles southeast of Tōkyō, in 1879; and after it defeated China in the First Sino-Japanese War, when it annexed Taiwan in 1895. Japan already had more land for sugar plantations than Hawai‘i had, and the lands it had were much closer to the homeland.

Fujikane's fellow Asian Club Member Eiko Kosasa (who made the false claim that Japanese contract laborers were "peaceful expansionists") also claimed falsely that Japan had plans to invade Hawai'i. To hear Kosasa babbling confusedly about a Japanese invasion, click on the following link to a video posted on *YouTube* by *ImiPono.org*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EdLZT7c3Sj4). The video popped up when I googled Kosasa's name to find out more about Fujikane's sources. Kosasa was recorded during a panel discussion held at the UH Hawaiian Studies auditorium to discuss "Hawaii's historical transformations from kingdom to republic, to territory to state, and finally towards independence."

2.28

Sanford Dole, the son of White missionaries and the first President of the Republic of White Oligarchs, believed that Japanese plantation laborers, "unsophisticated Mongolians," enjoyed the "privileges" and "benefits" of working in a White colony. Van Dyke summarizes Dole's condescending view of the workers:

> Dole appears to have made his personal peace with the contract labor system by 1872, explaining that "[a]t present, our contract laborers are, as a rule, highly paid, well fed and cared for, and treated perhaps according to their behavior as well as they deserve, sometimes better." He suggested that plantations should be encouraged to experiment with cooperative arrangements with their workers and profit-sharing deals, stating that with such inducements the workers would "receive high wages, good care and treatment, together with some other circumstances undoubtedly objectionable to an Anglo-Saxon mind, but which would not make any insurmountable obstacle to unsophisticated Mongolians or Malays," because "the life they take up here is immensely superior in a material sense to the life they leave behind." (86)

Far from enjoying the benefits of colonial life as Dole and Fujikane and her Asian Settler Club suggest, the Japanese plantation workers lamented their fate: they were driven by poverty to leave their homeland and families to earn money in a foreign country. Since few of the nineteenth-century migrant workers were literate, and those who

were didn't necessarily have time to write essays, books, or poetry about their experiences and feelings, *hole hole bushi* (plantation songs they composed and sang) are among the meager sources available in English of what they thought and felt about their lives (See subsection 2.8 above.) About sixty such songs were recorded in 1960 and after by Harry Minoru Urata, a music teacher in Hawai‘i (Hall "Songs of the Cane Fields"). One song expresses regret over believing the fantasy of "high wages [and] good care and treatment" promised by Japanese labor recruiters and White plantation owners: "Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i / chasing a dream, we came / but now our tears flow / in the cane fields."

Another song expresses the same sorrow metaphorically: "Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i / we came / one look, it was hell / the boss was Emma [King of Hell] / the overseers were his demons" (*Hawaii Hawaii to / Kite mirya Jiyoku / Boshi ga Emma de / Runa ga oni*) (Center for Labor Education & Research, "History of Labor in Hawai‘i: *Hole Hole Bushi*"). Buddhist paintings depict hell as a place of various punishments, one of which is a boiling pool of feces. The song suggests that White devils herded the workers daily into a boiling cesspool as punishment for having been born poor.

"Hell of Boiling Feces": sinners are herded by devils into the pool. From "Scenes of Buddhist Hell," Nara National Museum

The contract laborers who sang these songs didn't experience the islands as the ‘āina momona ("fertile lands") that Native Hawaiians experienced before colonization; or the "tropical paradise" that White settlers turned into a colony.

Another song expresses the uncertainty of the alien workers in Hawai‘i: "Go to America / or return to Japan / here in Hawai‘i / we

don’t know what we should do” (Odo, “*Hole hole bushi*”). Not exactly a song of “Asian Settlers” planning to make Hawai‘i a permanent home, as the myth of Asian Settler Colonialism would suggest.

The Japanese migrant laborers lived in shabby, crowded shacks with poor sanitation, in isolated villages on land that the White planters bought from the Hawaiian Monarchy to develop plantations. In the early days, workers built their houses from materials the plantations provided—bamboo, boards, and sugar cane leaves for thatching. The workers knew how to construct houses from natural materials because they came from impoverished rural villages where peasant communities traditionally built their own houses.

The plantation owners housed the workers in remote “camps” on plantation land to keep them close to where they would work, under watchful eyes of overseers to limit the number of desertions.

Plantation shacks in Wainaku on the Big Island, c. 1890. (C. Furneaux, photographer, Bishop Museum Archives)

2.29

If life was so miserable in Hawai‘i, and the migrant workers wanted to return to Japan or move on to America, why didn’t more of them leave after their three-year contracts were up? In *The Japanese Expansion Into Hawaii, 1868-1898*, historian Hilary Conroy speculates on their

reasons for staying. One, he suggests, was that "the Japanese fared considerably worse, in a financial way, than the terms of the Convention of their contracts would indicate." As one *hole hole bushi* put it: "Even though the contract expired, the men can't return to Japan. In the end they will be buried in cane field lepo [Hawaiian for 'dirt']" (Hall).

The low wages were reduced by remittances extracted by the Japanese government; and by fees extracted by Japanese inspectors and interpreters from the Hawaiian Bureau of Immigration who were supposed to be watching out for the well-being of the workers; and by deductions for violating plantation rules (Conroy 159–162); and by taxes imposed by the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Republic of White Oligarchs. Many migrants remained after their three-year contracts expired in hopes of continuing to earn enough money to send to their families back home, particularly to pay the land tax on farms, which, along with a saké (liquor) tax, was the main sources of revenue for the Japanese government, as it transformed the nation from a feudal agricultural society based on rice tribute to a capitalist industrial society based on cash. In 1887, an income tax on corporations, businesses, and workers, modeled on Western tax systems, was added (Shiomi, "The Development of the Income Tax in Japan" 54–55), but land and liquor taxes were the main sources of government revenue until 1918, when the income tax began providing the largest share (Shiomi 77).

Another possible reason for not returning to the homeland is that despite the low wages and poor living conditions in Hawai‘i, if they returned to Japan, they might not have found jobs with comparable or better pay, or any jobs at all.

As noted earlier, another reason for not returning to the homeland might also have been to avoid the political, economic, and social turmoil and uncertainty in Japan following the war against China in 1894-1895 and subsequent wars, with the prospect that returnees might be drafted into the military.

Conroy speculates that some migrants stayed in Hawai‘i due to "weakening ties with family at home due to the great distance and the slowness of mail" (162–163). He doesn't provide any evidence of how many felt "weakening ties with family" vs. those who viewed their living and working abroad as a sacrifice for their families. Distance (and time) can make bonds grow stronger. However, migrants from impoverished families returning home might make them an additional burden on their families—another unemployed or underemployed person to feed; it made more sense for the migrants to work overseas

and send earnings, however meager, home.

Conroy suggests that laborers may have stayed in Hawai‘i because they enjoyed a freedom from family obligations, which could be considerable. Again, however, he is speculating, without evidence. He quotes a Japanese saying that he translates “Once over the borders, one may do anything” (Tabi no haji wa kaki sute,” 旅の恥はかき捨て), implying that the freedom the overseas workers gained made them less likely to want to return home (163). Anecdotal evidence suggests that workers spent the boredom of their time-off pursuing worldly pleasures like gambling, drinking, and having sex with prostitutes. However, the saying Conroy cites doesn’t suggest that the freedom of being away makes it less likely that a traveler would return home. It means rather, “When you travel, no one knows who you are, so any embarrassment or shame you feel will only last until you leave.” In other words, no matter what you did, you are free to return home since no one will know what you did while you were away.

Conway gives three examples of Japanese who did well enough in Hawai‘i to want to remain: one worker who made a positive impression on the plantation bosses was promoted to an overseer; another worker opened a boarding house and a bathhouse in the plantation camp and did well; another started a coffee farm after leaving the plantation. A few made money by running prostitution services (164). Such examples, however, don’t confirm that these successful migrant workers planned to “settle”; they may have wanted to earn as much as they could before returning home. (See subsection 2.19 above for the story of a successful coffee and sugar planter, Ōtsuki Kōnosuke, who returned to Japan despite his success in Hawai‘i.)

Despite the occasional success story, by 1896, 80.1% of the 17,980 Japanese residents over 15 years of age were plantation laborers, the highest percentage among all the ethnic groups, followed by the Portuguese (72.5%), Chinese (62.6%), and South Sea Islanders (57.6%). The 17,980 Japanese were the largest ethnic group of workers, followed by the Chinese (17,445), Hawaiians (11,250), Portuguese (4,187), Part Hawaiians (1,731), Americans (1,621), and British (1,120). About twenty percent of the Japanese had left plantation labor for other jobs, with the next highest percentages of workers in the categories Ranchers/Agriculturalists (3.5%, probably farmers), Mechanics (1.45%), and Merchants (1.3%). About 8.5% didn’t list any occupation and 2.9% were listed under “Other Occupations” (*Report of the General Superintendent of the Census 1896*).

2.30

In 1898, America elected a new President, William McKinley, who supported territorial expansion beyond the continental States and orchestrated America's annexation of Hawai'i. Annexation guaranteed plantations in Hawai'i access to a tariff-free American market. Annexationist leader Lorrin A. Thurston, along with B.F. Dillingham, Alfred W. Carter, Samuel M. Damon, and Wm. H. Shipman, began a massive plantation development in 'Ōla'a in 1899. Historian Masayo Duus describes the development, eleven miles south of Hilo:

> The development of Olaa was unprecedented in scale. An enormous land reclamation project opened some 20,000 acres (8,093 hectares) of cane fields extending from a point eight miles from Hilo to the Kilauea volcano. Originally owned by the Hawaiian royal family, the Olaa area was a jungle thick with ohia trees, ferns, and shrubs. The land had been sold to private individuals, and coffee cultivation had been attempted some ten years before but had ended in failure because of too much rainfall. The climate, however, was very suitable for sugarcane cultivation. (*The Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920*, 16)

'Ōla'a Plantation hired hundreds of migrant workers from Japan to provide labor for the development. A brother of my maternal grandfather went there for work after he arrived in Hawai'i in 1908; his older brother, who arrived in 1907, was working for a plantation in Pi'ihonua just outside of Hilo.

Migrant workers, both men and women, cleared the land and worked in the fields in 'Ōla'a.

A twelve-roller sugar mill was built in 'Ōla'a in 1900 to press cane stalks to extract the sugary sap.

The workers at 'Ōla'a were housed in wooden barracks rather than the earlier of the self-constructed bamboo huts in which earlier migrant workers lived. No doubt, the plantation owners needed to provide better housing to hold onto their workers. Still, plantation housing remained basic and crowded. The free laborers could leave the plantations to seek higher-paying jobs in towns, but they would also have to find and pay for their own lodgings if they left.

The 31-mile-long Volcano Road went from Hilo to Volcano through a dense ‘Ōla‘a forest. The land along both sides of the road was cleared for planting sugar. Photo by Brother Bertram, c. 1883–1905

George Yoshio Hoshida, who came to Hilo with his mother in 1912 to join his father, describes the housing at a plantation camp in Kaūmana, a mile or so south of Hilo:

> The camp houses where father lived were built of 1 x 12 rough pine boards on stilts and white-washed with lime. They usually were long bungalows with an open porch running the length of the barrack. They were partitioned with small rooms where two or three laborers slept together. Beds were built of rough lumber and thin grass-filled mattresses. The cracks between the wall boards were covered by slats on the outside, but the floor boards had shrunk to expose wide cracks between them. Wind blowing through them made even the mild winters quite chilly and miserable (*Taken from the Paradise Isle*, 5–6).

Japanese women working with men in the cane fields

'Ōla'a Plantation Camp, c. 1900

‘Ōla‘a plantation barracks

Japanese workers in the ‘Ōla‘a plantation mill, c. 1905

2.31

The 1898 Newlands Resolution passed by the US Congress to annex Hawai'i gave the US Territory of Hawai'i one million acres of Crown Lands (lands that once belonged to the Monarchy) and about 800,000 acres of Government Lands, to be used "solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands for educational and other public purposes." These lands, known as Ceded Lands, had been taken from the Monarch and the Kingdom of Hawai'i by the Republic of White Oligarchs after the 1893 overthrow.

The Organic Act of 1900, which established the government of the US Territory, specified five public purposes for the 1.8 million acres of Ceded Lands: (1) support of public schools and other public educational institutions; (2) betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians; (3) development of farm and home ownership; (4) making of public improvements; and (5) providing lands for public use. After annexation, about 350,000 acres were taken by the U.S. for military use and national parks; later, in 1920, 203,500 acres, much of it Crown Lands, were designated to be leased to Native Hawaiian homesteaders at a nominal fee [$1] for ninety-nine years.

The Crown Lands have been subject to legal claims by descendants of the Monarchs ever since the Lands were taken, without compensation, by the Republic of White Oligarchs. In 1910, Queen Lili'uokalani (1838–1917), the last reigning Monarch, deposed in 1893, filed a suit to be compensated for the Crown Lands, and the descendants of other Hawaiian Monarchs have also filed claims; none of the claims have been granted. (See Van Dyke's *Who Owns the Crown Lands?*)

The Ceded Lands, which became what is called the Public Land Trust, are what Haunani-Kay Trask and her Mililani sister claimed as a land base for Ka Lāhui, their proposed Native Nation.

3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i

[Section 3 of 5, with 66 Subsections]

"Monarchy had accomplished a useful means, and democracy arises to carry on the work."

—Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole, a former heir to the Throne, in a campaign speech during the 1902 election for Territorial delegate to Congress, which he won

"... the Territory of Hawai‘i is now and is going to be American; it is going to remain American under any condition and we are going to control the situation out there. ... I do not think there is any contest as to who shall dominate; the white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawai‘i are going to dominate and will continue to dominate."

—Royal D. Mead, executive secretary for the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA), at a 1921 Congressional Hearing on Hawai‘i's labor shortage

3.1

In "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" (1984), Trask describes Hawai‘i in the century after the 1898 US annexation:

> With increasing capitalist penetration in the 20th century has come increasing racial oppression and exploitation of Hawaiians: first under the missionary-descended, haole ruling class who governed Hawaii with an iron hand from 1893 to

> 1954; and later under the political power of descendants of Japanese immigrants who have dominated Hawaii since 1954. (108)

During the first half of the twentieth century while Hawai‘i was governed by the iron hand of "the missionary-descended, haole ruling class," how did "Asian Settlers" acquire political and economic power and join the White power structure in subjugating and dispossessing Natives, as Trask and Fujikane's myth of Asian Settler Colonialism would suggest? They didn't, which is why they omit details of the first five decades of the US Territory. During this period, Japanese migrant workers, citizens of Japan with the status of resident aliens, didn't participate in governance since they couldn't become naturalized US citizens and couldn't vote or run for office. During the first four decades of the century, the majority of their children, born as US citizens, were too young to vote or participate in governance. Nor did residents of Japanese ancestry dominate Hawai‘i politically after 1954, as Trask and Fujikane claim. The economy continued to be dominated by White-owned companies like the Big Five, and politics was dominated by multiethnic unions who fought for their share of post-war prosperity, electing politicians, including Nisei, who backed a working class agenda. (See "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

While Whites dominated governance of the US Territory for its first five decades, Hawaiian leaders like Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole, a former heir to the throne, and other former members of the Hawaiian ruling class also participated in governance. Under the "iron hand" of the White ruling class, Hawaiian politicians got what they were allowed to get for Natives. At the same time, Whites and Hawaiians who controlled the government proposed and sometimes passed laws to limit economic competition from Japs. Most White companies refused to hire Japs, or to promote them if they were hired; when Japs left the plantations, they entered the trades or started their own businesses.

3.2

After annexation, the Settler State of America controlled citizenship and immigration in the Territory of Hawai‘i. It granted citizenship to all citizens of the Republic of White Oligarchs, practically all of whom were Whites and Hawaiians.

In 1900, the Japanese were the largest ethnic group, numbering 61,111, or 40% of the population, but except for the relatively few naturalized citizens and children born in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the residents of Japanese ancestry were citizens of Japan. US law prohibited Japanese migrant workers from becoming naturalized citizens. The aliens had permission to reside and work in the US Territory or the continental US; their incomes, resources, and property were relatively limited, so they didn't play a major role in the economy other than to provide labor and pay taxes.

Hawaiians, unmixed and mixed, were the next largest group, numbering 39,636, or 26% of the population. Whites (including those of Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Spanish ancestry) were the third largest group, numbering 26,819, or 17% of the population. Chinese, numbering 25,767, were a close fourth, making up 16.7% of the population (Schmitt, "Table 1.12. Ethnic Stock, 1853–1970," 25).

In 1900, part-Hawaiian John Wise, a founding member of the Democratic Party in Hawai'i, suggested that the Native non-voting Congressional delegate Robert Wilcox propose a ban on Japanese immigration (Andrade 219). Wise, a member of the first Territorial legislature, feared that the 61,111 residents of Japanese ancestry were too many to control and once they left the plantations, would compete with Hawaiians for work. He didn't want more of them coming to Hawai'i. He also realized that if the Japanese migrant workers started families and had children in large numbers, the children would be born as US citizens and when they came of age after twenty-one years, they could vote; a few years after they became eligible to vote, they could also run for office. Wise was one of the first Hawaiian politicians to imagine and fear the changes Jap participation in the local government might bring.

A Japanese military invasion was never planned and never happened, but fearmongering about such an invasion or a "peaceful" political or economic takeover by local Japs continued throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, taking various rhetorical forms by Whites, Hawaiians, other migrants and immigrants, and even by the assimilated descendants of Japanese migrant workers like Fujikane and the members of her Asian Settler Club. Like a virus, the rhetoric keeps mutating, dormant sometimes, but so deeply embedded in the American psyche, it's practically impossible to eradicate.

3.3

The laws that prohibited the Issei from becoming citizens included the Naturalization Act of 1790, which gave naturalization rights to White aliens only. The Naturalization Act of 1870 extended that right to aliens of African birth and persons of African ancestry (that is, former slaves from Africa). The 1882 Exclusion Act that banned Chinese immigration also made the Chinese the first ethnic group to be specifically excluded from naturalization. The Act didn't mention the Japanese, who weren't present in large numbers at the time, but the assumption was that since the Japanese weren't White or Black, they were excluded. The Naturalization Act of 1906 established a language requirement for naturalization: "no alien shall hereafter be naturalized or admitted as a citizen of the United States who cannot speak the English language." That also excluded practically all Japanese migrant workers.

Kimura notes that because the Japanese, unlike the Chinese, weren't specifically excluded by naturalization law, and the resulting inconsistencies of interpretation, "[b]efore 1905, approximately fifty Japanese were naturalized"; she adds, however, "When the number of Japanese immigrants increased, the naturalization law was more strictly observed" (*Issei, Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* 16). For clarification, the Supreme Court ruled in 1922 in the case of Takao Ozawa that aliens of Japanese ancestry were ineligible for naturalization. Ozawa applied for naturalization in Hawai‘i in 1914. From a samurai family, he came to America in 1894 not as a migrant worker, but as a 19-year old "schoolboy" to get an American education. He learned English at Berkeley High School and studied law at UC Berkeley before moving to Hawai‘i in 1906. He believed he met the qualifications for naturalization because he spoke English and was "white"—that is, his skin color was as white as or whiter than the skin of some "Whites." However, he was turned down for naturalization, then lost an appeal. The Pacific Coast Japanese Association Deliberation Council decided to use his case to test US naturalization law and took his case to the Supreme Court. In 1922, the Supreme Court ruled that "White" was not a reference to skin color, but to race, and since Ozawa didn't belong to the Caucasian race, he wasn't eligible for naturalization (Imai, "Ozawa v. United States").

Asian aliens had permission to reside and work in America and its territories as long as they arrived legally, obeyed the laws, paid their taxes, and weren't a threat to public safety. The US President could

imprison or deport them if they were designated "enemy aliens"—e.g., spies or saboteurs for a foreign country with which America was at war. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, President F.D. Roosevelt used this wartime power to order the expulsion of West Coast Issei and Nisei from their homes, and the arrest and imprisonment of hundreds of Issei in Hawai‘i by having them designated, without due process, "enemy aliens."

3.4

When Hawai‘i became a US Territory, White local politicians lobbied Congress to require that a voter in Territorial elections be required to have earnings of $1,500 a year or possess property valued at $3,000, which would exclude many Hawaiian voters, just as such requirements did in the Republic of White Oligarchs. Congress, however, granted the right to vote to all male US citizens 21 years of age or older in Hawai‘i who had at least one year of residency and could speak, read, and write English or Hawaiian (Williams, "Race, Power, and the Dilemma of Democracy: Hawai‘i's First Territorial Legislature, 1901" 3). The last US State with property ownership as a voting requirement was North Carolina, which abolished that requirement in 1856. Women weren't granted the right to vote until 1920.

For its first fifty years, the Territorial legislature in Hawai‘i was controlled by the two group with the largest number of voters, Hawaiians (unmixed and mixed) and Whites. The US Census Bureau records that in 1900, Hawaiian (8,879) and Part-Hawaiian (1,222) males were of voting age; Caucasian males of voting age numbered 9,250 (including the Portuguese, Porto [sic] Ricans, Spanish, and Other Caucasians) (*Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, "Table 19 in "Males of Voting and Militia Age" 19). In 1900, registered voters numbered 11,216, of whom 9,589 voted (Schmitt, "Voter Participation Rates in Hawaii Before 1900," "Table 4. Registered Voters and Votes Cast, Hawaii, 1900 to 1970" 57).

The Territorial Governor, with veto power over legislation, was appointed by the US President; not surprisingly, until Hawai‘i became a State in 1959, all but one of the governors were White males. After Statehood, governors were elected by voters, and the first two, Republican William Quinn (the last governor appointed by the US President) and Democrat John A. Burns were White.

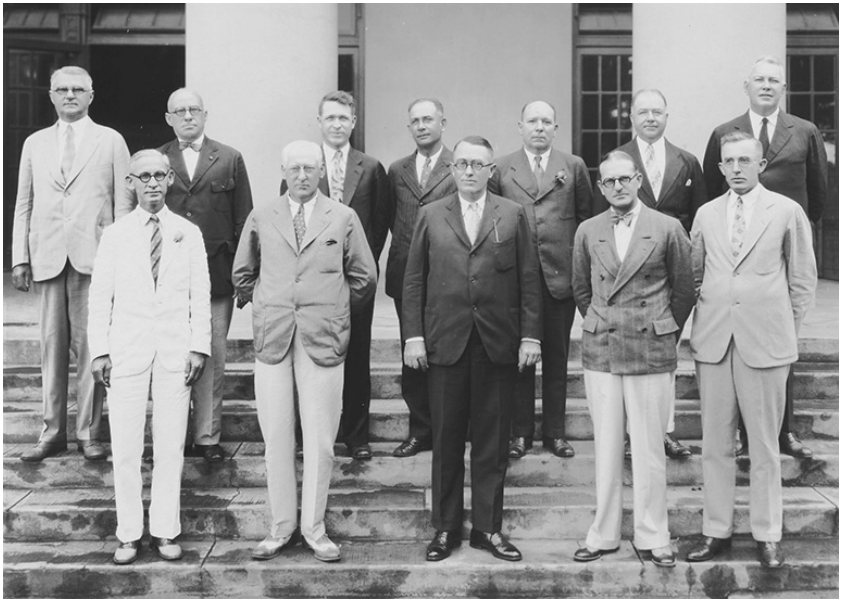
The first appointed Governor was Sanford B. Dole, the former

president of the Republic of White Oligarchs. The only part-Hawaiian Governor was Samuel Wilder King, who served the last full term of office (1953–1957) before Statehood. Governor Carter (1903–1907) was appointed by US President T.R. Roosevelt to succeed Sanford B. Dole. Carter's cabinet were all White males.

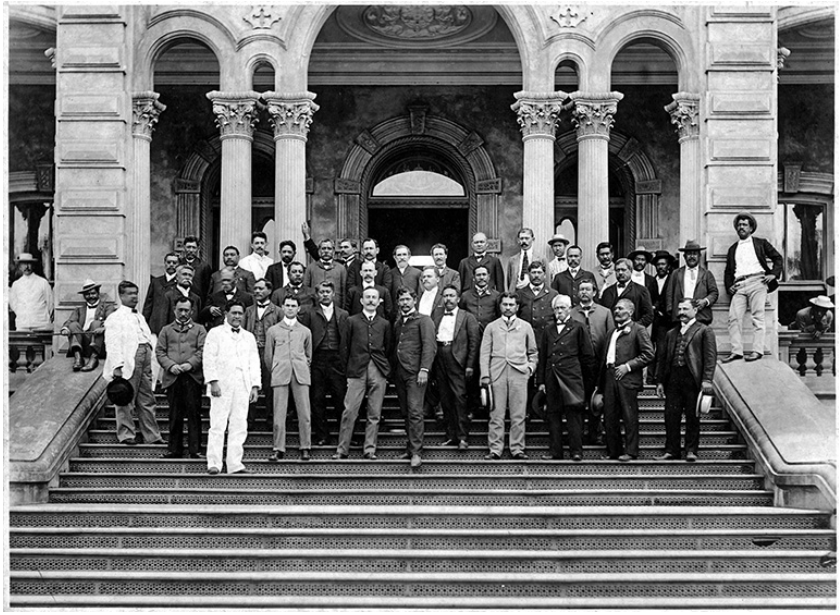
Governor Geo. R. Carter and his cabinet. The governor is seated in the front row, center. To his right (left to right) are Pres. Board of Health L. E. Pinkham and Supt. of Public Instruction Alatau T. Atkinson (son of British explorers, born in Russia); to Carter's left (left to right) are Attorney General Lorrin Andrews and Auditor J. H. Fisher. Back row, standing, left to right are High Sheriff A. M. Brown, Treasurer A. J. Campbell, Supt. of Public Works C. S. Holloway, Secretary A.L.C. Atkinson, Surveyor W. E. Wall, and Commissioner Public Lands J. W. Pratt (*Digital Archives of Hawai'i*).

Over two decades later, under Governor Lawrence M. Judd (1929–1934), who was appointed by President Herbert Hoover, the cabinet was still all-White males.

The Territorial delegate to Congress was elected, but had no vote. The first delegate was part-Hawaiian Robert W. Wilcox (1855–1903). His mother was a descendant of Kaulahea, a ruling chief of Maui, and his father was a White sea captain who became a rancher in Makawao on Maui. The longest serving delegate was Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole



Governor Lawrence M. Judd, first row center, and his cabinet *(Digital Archives of Hawai'i)*



Territorial Legislature of Hawai'i in the 1900s: all members were White or Hawaiian males. *(Digital Archives of Hawai'i)*

(1871–1922), who succeeded Wilcox and held the office for eighteen years, from 1903–1921. Kalanianaole, of unmixed Hawaiian blood, was followed by a series of part-Hawaiian and White delegates.

A legislature with two chambers was elected—fifteen senators and thirty representatives. A senator had to be a male citizen at least 30 years of age; a representative had to be a male citizen at least 25 years of age. The first legislative session convened in 1901 with all members being White or Hawaiian, with Hawaiians in the majority. After the first couple of elections and for the next five decades, the Territorial legislature was controlled by Whites and Hawaiians of the Republican Party (Schmitt, "Table 24.8. Party Membership of Territorial and State Legislators, 1901–1977" *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, 643).

3.5

In the first election of 1900, the Home Rule Party won control of the legislature. The party, whose slogan was "Hawai‘i for the Hawaiians," was founded by Robert W. Wilcox, who had been sentenced to death after he served as a commander in the 1895 armed counter-revolution that failed to overthrow the White Oligarchy and restore the Monarchy. He was pardoned in 1898 by Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of White Oligarchs ("Robert W. Wilcox" 104). When the Home Rule Party gained control of the first legislature, the White press began attacking the Hawaiian legislators. In "Race, Power, and the Dilemma of Democracy: Hawai‘i's First Territorial Legislature, 1901," Ronald Williams, UH professor of Hawaiian Studies, describes what happened:

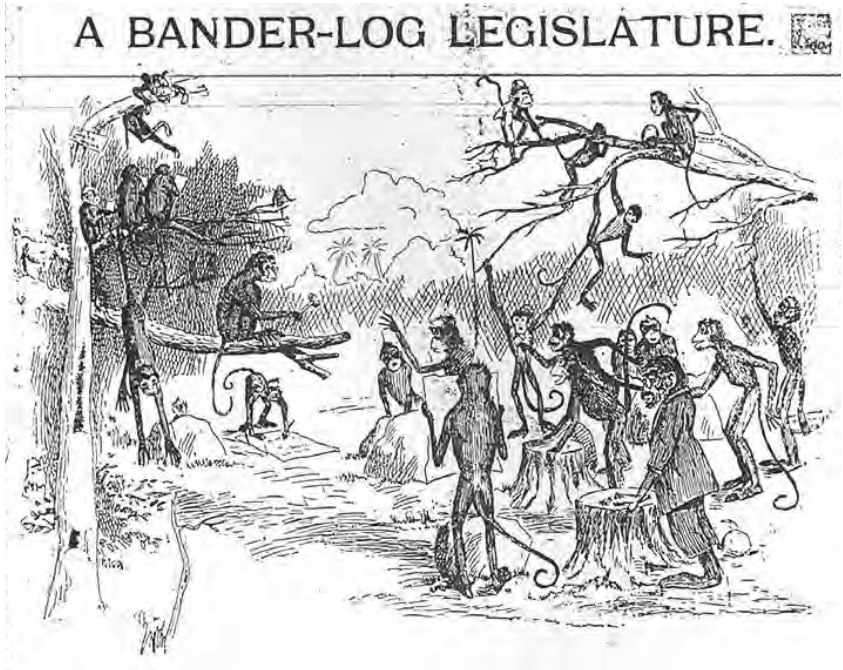
> These [White] men wasted no time in launching their rhetorical attack on this limited re-establishment of native rule, and time-worn racial tropes were the main weapons. The first post-election issue of The Friend responded to the election results with a vitriolic column titled "The Heathen Party" that accused Wilcox of working to revive a licentious and destructive behavior embraced by Queen Lili‘uokalani and King Kalākaua. It characterized Wilcox's supporters as consisting of "all that baser native element which clings to the degraded past in opposition to our grandly developed Christian civilization." The mission paper closed by explaining about Wilcox: "Inflated by victory at the polls, he now seeks to head his people in a downward orgy of vice and debauchery." This and other initial

> attacks offered a small sample of what was to be a near-daily barrage once the native-led legislature got under way. (21–22)

Williams' article includes a cartoon, published on the front page of both *The Hawaiian Gazette* and the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* on April 30, 1901, ten days after the first legislative session began. While the White newspapers intended the cartoon to portray Hawaiian legislators, the reader today might mistakenly view it as the legislature, which included Whites.

The cartoon is captioned with a quotation from a poem by the racist British poet Rudyard Kipling, contemptuously mocking Hawaiian legislators as "Bander-Log," Hindi for "Monkey People":

> Here we sit in a branchy row, / Thinking of beautiful things we know; / Dream of deeds that we mean to do, …/ Something noble and grand and good, / Won by merely wishing we could. … / Brother thy tail hangs down behind! … / Jabber it quickly and all together! Excellent! Wonderful! Once again! / Now we are talking just like men. … / Brother thy tail hangs down behind! / This is the way of the monkey kind. ("Road-Song Of the Bander-Log," from *Jungle Book* 1894)



The Republicans led by Governor Dole did their best to obstruct the work of the Hawaiian-dominated legislature, so that after the first session, they could claim that Natives were incompetent and shouldn't be allowed to govern. The legislature passed only nineteen bills of the proposed 51 Senate bills and 126 House bills. Frustrated with Dole, the House passed a resolution asking the US President to remove him from office for his hostility toward the legislature and for subverting "the principles of American government to the service of a class instead of for the good of the whole people" (Williams 36–37). Dole remained as governor until 1903, when President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him as a judge in the US District Court of Hawai‘i.

3.6

After Wilcox became the first Territorial Congressional delegate, he served a partial term of the 56th Congress (1899–1901), then was re-elected to serve the full term of the 57th Congress (1901–1903). In both elections, he won against Democrat David Kawānanakoa (1868-1908), the older brother of Kalanianaole, and Republican Samuel Parker (1853-192), a part-Hawaiian who was the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of Finance to Queen Lili‘uokalani. Parker had founded Pa‘ahau Sugar Plantation in 1878 and was the heir to Parker Ranch, the largest ranch in the islands, on the west coast of the Big Island. The vote count in the election for the full term of the 57th Congress was Wilcox, 4,108; Parker, 3,845; and Kawānanakoa 1,566 (Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* "Table 24.6 Votes Cast for Candidates in Major Races in General Elections, 1900 to 1976" 603).

In Congress, Wilcox was assigned to the Private Land Claims Committee. His congressional biographer writes:

> His major policy goal was to establish a homestead policy for Hawai‘i, which would offer the chance for White estates [actually, Ceded Lands in the Public Land Trust, not privately owned land] to be redistributed to Native Hawaiian farmers, a move that he and other Native Hawaiians saw as fundamentally egalitarian. Lands once under control of the Hawaiian monarchy, which had been seized by the provisional government and the oligarchs and now largely fell under federal oversight, might at least be returned to the people. Wilcox introduced H.R. 13906 on January 29, 1901, to achieve this goal. The bill called for

> the public land laws of the United States to be extended to the territory of Hawaii. It also empowered the Secretary of the Interior "to make rules and regulations for the entry of lands to be used for homestead purposes"; no land grant would exceed 100 acres. The bill was referred to the Committee on Territories, where it died when the session concluded about a month later. ("Robert W. Wilcox" 106)

After the bill died, Wilcox continued to pursue his goal in the 57th session of Congress, telling a commission visiting Honolulu in the summer of 1902: "My great idea is to get this land system so all the people—native, white, and every American citizen of this country—can have land, and not as it is now, in the hands of a few men" (106). But the passage of a Congressional Act to return Natives to the land would have to wait two decades, until the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was passed when Kalanianaole was serving as the Territorial delegate to Congress.

3.7

The Home Rule political victories were short lived. In the election of 1902, Wilcox was challenged by Kalanianaole, who supported the counter-revolution of 1895 with Wilcox and who was a former member of Wilcox's Home Rule Party. Kalanianaole joined the Republican Party of the White sugar planters to run against Wilcox. Kalanianaole's congressional biographer writes, "The Home Rule-leaning newspaper Independent excoriated Kuhio as a race traitor, tying him to Dole and other haoles, whom it portrayed as oppressors" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 115).

Kalanianaole had grown "disenchanted with the Home Rule Party after witnessing some of its racially charged politics firsthand." He was also told that to get anything done in Congress he had to belong to one of the two major parties, Republicans or Democrats. To persuade Kalanianaole to join them, the Republican Party adopted platform positions that were in the Home Rule platform: "the creation of county and municipal government, a legislative settlement for Queen Liliuokalani, and the revision of the tax system"; but Kalanianaole also campaigned on Americanism, telling voters, "Monarchy had accomplished a useful means, and democracy arises to carry on the work" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 115).

Wilcox referred to Kalanianaole as "that very inconsequential little mouse" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 114). Kalanianaole won the election with a combination of Hawaiian and White votes. The Portuguese supported him, with "The Portuguese Political Club even renaming itself the Portuguese Republican Club as a show of support for the prince" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 115). The Portuguese were migrants like the Japanese but were White and allowed to vote and become citizens in the Republic of White Oligarchs; those who were citizens were granted citizenship in the US Territory after annexation. Kalanianaole got 6,628 votes for the Congressional seat, Wilcox 4,698; no Democrat opposed them (Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, "Table 24.6 Votes Cast for Candidates in Major Races in General Elections, 1900 to 1976" 603).

In the 1905 election, the Home Rule Party won only one seat in the House and none in the Senate. The Republican Party dominated. The Democrats, founded in 1900 as the party of working-class Hawaiians, elected only one member of the House and one in the Senate (Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii*, "Table 24.8 Party Membership of Territorial and State Legislators, 1901–1977" 643). The Democratic Party would have to wait until 1954 to gain control of the legislature from the Republicans, after the party was strengthened by support from multiethnic unions formed during the later 1930s and 40s. (See "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

3.8

Kalanianaole knew, of course, that many of the Whites with whom he collaborated were racists. In 1900–1901, he traveled in North America and Europe and experienced first-hand White prejudice against dark-skinned people like himself. He didn't meekly accept insults. In 1901, at a barbershop in one of Montreal's "finest hotel," an American tourist cut in line in front of him, commenting, "I certainly take precedence over a nigger." Kalanianaole punched him in the face a few times and threw him to the ground. In Switzerland, while Kalanianaole was drinking beer in a café, Count von Furstenheim, with four other White college students, asked the waiter to throw out "that black man." Kalanianaole "pulled von Furstenheim's nose, swung him around and kicked him." When the five White students ganged

up on Kalanianaole, he knocked all five to the ground with punches ("Cupid as a Pugilist: Hawaiian Prince In Two Lively Scraps," Pacific *Commercial Advertiser*, April 13, 1901).

Kalanianaole faced discrimination even as a Congressional delegate in Washington DC: "in the House of Representatives' barbershop, ... the proprietor curtly informed him, using a racial epithet, that he would not cut the Hawaiian's hair. Not one to suffer fools, Kuhio grabbed the barber by the collar and hauled him out of the shop" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 115).

President T.R. Roosevelt claimed that he couldn't pronounce or remember the name Kalanianaole, so Hawai‘i's Congressional delegate became known as "Kūhiō."

Still, Kalanianaole worked with Whites to get what he could for Hawaiians. In an emotional appeal, he told Congress in 1905, "Do not leave it possible for any Hawaiian to say that, either politically or economically, he was better off under the old monarchy than he may be today under the American flag" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 116). Kalanianaole brought millions of federal dollars to Hawai‘i, including $27 million for the improvement and expansion of the American naval base at Pearl Harbor (117).

Kalanianaole believed that "one of the simplest ways to ensure civil rights for his people was the admission of Hawaii to the Union," so Hawaiians could elect their own governor and also two Senators and at least one Representative who could vote in Congress ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 118). He introduced a statehood proposal in 1919, but it died in Congress for lack of interest and support. Statehood would have to wait four decades, until 1959; by then, Native Hawaiians were no longer the largest voting block.

3.9

When Hawai‘i became a US Territory in 1900, the plantations still needed Japanese labor, so they continued to recruit workers. Between 1900 and 1908, which Odo and Sinoto label the "Free Immigration Period" because the workers were no longer contract laborers, 71,000 Japanese arrived, although the authors point out that "there was an almost equally great outflow [from Hawai‘i] drawn by higher wages on the U.S. continent (49).

The "free" laborers were generally better educated than the contract laborers who came before 1900. In 1872, the Meiji government

promulgated an Order establishing a compulsory education system, from elementary schools to universities, in order to educate every citizen of Japan, including commoners (former peasants, artisans, and merchants). Teacher training became a priority. By 1886, elementary schools had two levels, an ordinary division of four years and a higher division of four years. The first four years (and later the first six) were compulsory. By 1900, compulsory education was free (*History of Japan's Educational Development*). When my grandfathers emigrated to Hawai'i as farm laborers in 1906 and 1907, they had eight years of schooling, and could read and write (in Japanese), and compute. Both of them also learned some English in Hawai'i.

Education made the Japanese workers more aware of opportunities to sell their labor in the job markets of the capitalist economies that had developed in Japan, America, and other countries; or to start their own businesses, as my two grandfathers did after leaving plantation work. The workers were more aware of their rights, including the right to protest when those rights were being violated. They also understood that under US law, they were free to strike for higher wages or quit their jobs to find better work opportunities.

3.10

In 1907, the anti-Jap lobby on the West Coast persuaded the Settler State of America to negotiate an agreement with Japan to stop issuing passports to new Japanese workers, starting in 1907–1908. This so-called Gentlemen's Agreement came about after Japan protested the segregation of Japanese children in "Oriental" schools in San Francisco, calling it racial discrimination, which was prohibited under the 1894 US-Japan treaty, which guaranteed Japanese aliens equal status and rights with White aliens in America. In exchange for the US prohibiting segregated schools for Japanese and other Asian students in San Francisco, Japan agreed not to issue passports to new workers. However, America agreed to allow Japan to issue passports to family members (parents, wives, and children) of those workers who were already residing and working in the US or its territories.

Japanese migrant workers in America were earning enough not only to achieve their goal of sending money home to Japan to support their families there, but to start families. They didn't want to put off marriage and children until they returned to Japan as when they might do that was uncertain. They also didn't want to marry Non-Japanese local

women because that would make it difficult for them to return home. A few married the small number of Japanese women born in Hawai'i, as my dad's father did in his first marriage, and as an uncle of my mom did. Other migrants returned to Japan to get married and brought their wives back with them, as my dad's father did in his second marriage. Many, like my mom's father, had their families in Japan arrange proxy marriages to picture brides, who then emigrated to Hawai'i to join their husbands to start families.

Marriage of a Japanese couple living in different countries was recognized in Japan since the only legal requirement was that the bride's name be entered into the husband's family register, traditionally kept by Buddhist temples and later by local government offices. The prospective groom and bride exchanged letters and photos, and if the couple and their families agreed to the proxy marriage, it took place in Japan. The bride's name was entered in the groom's family register, and the Japanese government issued a passport to the "picture bride" to join her spouse overseas.

Between 1908 and 1924, when the US enacted a total ban on Japanese immigration, over 20,000 of the 61,000 Japanese migrants who arrived in the islands were picture brides (Odo and Sinoto 49). When the picture bride of my maternal grandfather arrived in 1914, he traveled from Hilo to Honolulu to meet her at the immigration station. Grandpa was issued a Hawai'i license to marry, dated on the day of Grandma's arrival, and they joined other couples to be married en masse in a Christian ceremony. Journalist Roland Kotani explains the reason for the ceremony: "Hawai'i immigration authorities refused to accept the legality of the *kekkon shashin* ["marriage via photographs"] and required that the Japanese couples be joined in matrimony by exchanging Christian vows," even though the US-Japan treaty of 1894 supposedly recognized Japanese marriage laws. Humorously, Kotani adds that a father who came to meet his daughter at the immigration station was "married" to her in one of the mass weddings (*The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 59).

Fred Makino, the half-Japanese, half-White editor of the Honolulu Japanese language newspaper *Hawaii Hochi* (he was one of the leaders of first major strike of Japanese plantation workers for higher wages) argued that the Christian vows were inappropriate since most of the migrant workers were Buddhist. For Grandpa, the Christian ceremony was merely perfunctory; his marriage was recognized as legal in Japan, which was all that mattered to him. However, my maternal

grandmother's uncle, whose bride arrived with Grandma, found a Buddhist minister to marry him to his wife on the day of their arrival, and he received a record of marriage signed by that minister.

In 1917, the mass weddings of Japanese migrant workers in Honolulu ended after the INS headquarters in Washington, D.C., told the local immigration officials that holding the weddings was "exceeding their authority" (Kotani 59).

3.11

Initially, the anti-Jap movement in America ignored the picture brides. White racist males wanted Japanese men to marry Japanese women, not White women. In 1907, the US passed an Expatriation Act that took US citizenship away from American women who married any aliens, purportedly to prevent their children from suffering from dual citizenship and divided loyalties. In 1922, the Cable Act restored US citizenship to women who had married aliens eligible for citizenship (i.e., Whites or Africans), but not to women who married aliens ineligible for citizenship (i.e., Asians). Of course, White men who married Asian women retained their US citizenship.

The US law to discourage White women from marrying Japanese aliens was of little concern to male Japanese aliens because they preferred Japanese wives. No doubt their preference was rooted in the common sense notion that one should marry someone who spoke the same language and had the same cultural background and the same citizenship and homeland as oneself; the preference was also influenced by a racist belief that the Japanese were superior to other ethnic groups, including Whites and Hawaiians. As in the Hawaiian creation myth, which traces the genealogy of the Native Kings and Queens and the people back to the Sky Father, Wākea, and Earth Mother, Papa, in the Japanese creation myth, the first Emperor claimed descent from the sun goddess Amaterasu who rules over the earth from where the sun rises to where it sets. While commoners didn't share the divine ancestry of the Emperor, schools promoted the notion that all Japanese citizens belonged to a divine nation under a ruler descended from the Sun Goddess. A Japanese male worker in Hawai'i knew that if he returned to Japan with a foreign wife, his wife and any mixed race children would most likely be treated as social outcasts by the husbands' family.

When the White racists realized that thousands of Japanese picture brides were entering the US, and the married couples were

giving birth to children at what the racists considered an alarming rate, the racists lobbied to get Japanese picture brides banned. James Phelan, a US Senator from California (1915–1921) complained that the Japanese "bred like rabbits" (Duus 237), and he and other racists began fearmongering that the Japanese would overrun California and America (even though the Japanese were less than 1% of the population of California at the time).

Phelan must have been recalling what his ancestor did to Native Americans, who over the last century watched in fear and horror as Whites multiplied like rabbits under the banner of "Manifest Destiny" and took over the North American continent from Native American tribes. In "The Death of Sitting Bear," N. Scott Momaday, of the Kiowa tribe, laments the onslaught of Whites by comparing them to insects: "Like grasshoppers the soldiers and settlers came." In *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, Momaday describes summer in Oklahoma, when "the steaming foliage seems almost to writhe in fire," and "Great green and yellow grasshoppers are everywhere in the tall grass, popping up like corn to sting the flesh" (5).

Traditionally, the Japanese revered the fecundity of the rabbit. At Okazaki Shrine, built in 794 to protect the eastern side of the walled, gated Imperial residence at the heart of Kyōto, the rabbit, associated with reproduction and success, is worshiped as a messenger of the two fertility gods to whom the shrine is dedicated.

Phelan's 1920 re-election campaign featured the slogan "Keep California White." At the time, out of a population of 3.4 million people in California, there were 71,952 Japanese, or 0.2% of the total (Daniels 6). Apparently, the slogan didn't resonate with the majority of California voters since Phelan lost his bid for re-election. Still, White racists succeeded in alarming Congress about the dangers of a high Japanese birthrate producing US citizens of Japanese ancestry, so in 1920, the US pressured Japan to stop issuing passports to picture brides. However, since Hawai‘i wasn't connected to the continental US, picture brides were allowed into Hawai‘i until 1924, when all Japanese immigration was banned (*Issei, Japanese Immigrants in Hawaii* 143). The high birth rate of Issei couples in Hawai‘i resulted in a large generation of Nisei born as US citizens who came of age during and after World War II.

Legal historian Jon Van Dyke estimates a total of 218,000 men, women, and children came to Hawai‘i from Japan between 1885 and 1924, and about 150,000 left, with 110,000 returning to Japan and

40,000 moving to the US continent (88). According to Kenji Goto, from 1885 to 1924, births among the Japanese in Hawai‘i totaled around 89,000, and deaths around 29,000, so in 1924 the population of Japanese ancestry in the islands was around 128,000 (“Foreword” in Kotani, *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 2).

When US restrictions on Japanese immigration were imminent in 1907, Japan still needed foreign capital for its industrialization and militarization, so the government signed an agreement with Brazil to send its surplus workers there. Before World War II, between 1906 and 1941, 189,000 Japanese workers went to Brazil, mainly to work on coffee plantations.

3.12

During its first fifty years and beyond, the Territorial economy was dominated by five White-owned corporations known as the Big Five. The five were established during the Kingdom of Hawai‘i—C. Brewer & Co. (est. 1826); Theo H. Davies & Co. (est. 1845); American Factors (est. 1849); Castle and Cooke (est. 1851); and Alexander & Baldwin (est. 1870). All five started as sugar companies, and eventually controlled the two largest industries, sugar and pineapple; transportation (harbors, railroads, and buses); major banks and insurance companies; and electricity and fuel. All of them benefited from annexation and became multimillion-dollar enterprises. Journalist and historian Tom Coffman summarizes the Big Five domination:

> With Hawai‘i in American hands, the white oligarchy consolidated its position through interlocking corporations, the Big Five … [which] controlled vast sectors of the economy and did not welcome competition—all in all, forming a tight little group of wealth and power. (*Tadaima! I Am Home: a Transnational Family History* 27)

The history of the ‘Ōla‘a Plantation Company, which Thurston, B.F. Dillingham, and three others developed south of Hilo in 1899, illustrates how the Big-Five, working with other White-owned companies and banks, controlled Hawai‘i’s economy. (About the foundation of the ‘Ōla‘a Plantation Company, see subsection 2.30 in “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i.”)

Initially, ‘Ōla‘a Plantation was controlled by Alexander and

Baldwin, which served as its business agent during the first two years (1899–1900). In 1901, B.F. Dillingham & Co., one of the developers of ‘Ōla‘a, took over as business agent. The Dillingham Company, although not included as one of the Big Five, owned sugar plantations on O‘ahu and the O‘ahu Railroad Company. As part of the ‘Ōla‘a development, it established the Hilo Consolidated Railway in 1899 to transport sugar from the plantation to the dock in Hilo. Eventually, HCR connected Hilo to Volcano (to promote early twentieth-century tourism), and to nine sugar plantations on the Hilo-Hāmākua coast northwest of Hilo. In 1905, the ‘Ōla‘a Plantation Company took over the adjacent Puna Plantation Company. From 1906 to 1919, Bishop and Company, which established the first bank in Hawai‘i in 1858 (First Hawaiian Bank today), served as ‘Ōla‘a’s business agent. Bishop and Company was founded by Charles Bishop, who married Princess Pauahi Pāki, the last heir of the Kamehameha Kings, and whose vast estate became known as the Bishop Estate after her passing. From 1919–1984, American Factors, Ltd. (AMFAC), one of the Big Five, took over as business agent for the ‘Ōla‘a plantation. In 1969 Puna Sugar Company, as the ‘Ōla‘a Plantation Company was then known, became a wholly owned AMFAC subsidiary (“Register of the Puna Sugar Company/Olaa Sugar Company, 1897–1991”).

3.13

During the first half of the twentieth century, the relationship between the Japanese migrant workers and the White plantation owners in Hawai‘i might best be described as adversarial, if not hostile. When Hawai‘i became a US Territory in 1900, dissatisfied workers gained the rights to leave the plantation or go on strike. They began use their rights almost immediately after the islands became a US Territory. On June 24, 1900, *The Honolulu Republican* reported labor unrest on the Big Island, with the headline “Japanese Strike on Plantations.” Subheadings included “Manager Campbell of Puna Meets Serious Trouble” and “THREATS TO KILL LUNAS.” (A “luna” was a plantation overseer, and most of them were White.) The editor lamented that the Japanese workers had begun to “show their teeth” and opined that an armed militia would be needed to protect property and life against strikers, who might “invade the town and ransack houses ... at any time.”

On the Big Island, workers went on strike at Waiākea and ‘Ōla‘a plantations, while workers at Hakalau “took a fling at freedom,” and

another group from ‘Amauulu, a section of Hilo, decided on their own to visit downtown.

In Puna, a group of workers demanded their labor contracts, which were now invalid, and their tax receipts from the plantation office as proof that they had paid their taxes. After the manager refused to turn over the documents, the workers didn’t report to work the next day and instead, ran “loose over the lands of the plantation and those neighboring,” taking potatoes and other vegetables, picking mountain apples, and going fishing. When confronted by a landowner and some Natives, one of the workers began swinging his home-made bamboo fishing spear and grappled with the Native who grabbed it; in the struggle the worker was cut on the ear. Neither man was arrested when the deputy sheriff arrived.

Later that day, the workers demanded their contracts again and were denied, so they left and came back “armed with clubs and hoes.” When a deputy sheriff arrived, he deputized several Natives, blocked the workers from entering the plantation office, and fired shots into the air, after which the workers retreated. Later a half dozen Natives showed up as reinforcements, each with a musical instrument, and started playing and singing. The Japanese workers were “bewildered”; the following day they returned to work. However, the manager reported that the Japs made death threats against two luna.

Kazuo Miyamoto’s *Hawaii: End of the Rainbow* (1964), an epic semi-autobiographical and historical novel about the Issei and their descendants, narrates a memorable incident set during the development of the ‘Ōla‘a Plantation, c. 1900 (131–132). The incident takes place at the twenty-mile marker along ‘Ōla‘a Road, near the pond on the Puna side. A group of eighty Issei judo-men thrash a White luna named Holland and his 250 “cosmopolitan” backers armed with “the handles of implements as weapons.” The judo-men had gathered from plantations around the Big Island after Holland beat up a Jap water boy for no reason. Holland was laid up in bed “for weeks” after his beating, and three of his backers died from their injuries, but the ‘Ōla‘a police and plantation management decided to let the matter slide, so as not to incite unrest among the three thousand Japanese workers. Miyamoto’s narrator comments, “Thanks to this timely display of force, the treatment of laborers became much improved, and overseers like the brutal Holland were cashiered.” I don’t know if the incident was fact or fiction (I haven’t been able to find a newspaper account confirming it). However, the animosity the Issei felt against luna like Holland is

White plantation luna (overseers) at ʻŌlaʻa

corroborated by historical accounts of plantation life.

3.14

Kotani reports that "From mid-1903 to 1906, 13,000 Japanese workers participated in about 14 strikes," with the main complaint being brutal treatment by overseers (38). In 1909, seven thousand Japanese workers struck at plantations on Oʻahu demanding the same wages and living conditions as workers of other ethnicities. The Japanese earned $18.50 for twenty-six days of work per month and lived in barracks, while the Portuguese and Puerto Rican workers (considered White) earned $22.50 for the same work and lived in cottages.

The strike was organized by Japanese newspaper editors and businessmen in Honolulu, who established the Higher Wage Association and went to the plantations to recruit workers. The Issei businessmen were motivated by racial pride and wanted their countrymen to be treated equally, but also had a financial stake in the strike—the more the workers made, the more the workers would have to spend at Japanese-run businesses. The Honolulu newspaper editors, like the intellectuals from San Francisco who came to advocate for worker suffrage in 1893, were also motivated by racial pride, based on their belief that the Japanese were equal to other races and should be treated

as such. Unequal wages and living conditions were an insult to their nationality. Workers on the islands other than O'ahu joined the Higher Wage Association, but continued to work, so they could send donations to support the strikers on O'ahu. Japanese businesses, stores, and employees in towns also supported the strikers with donations (Kotani 39–42).

A cartoon published in 1909 in *Hawaii Puck*, a Japanese-owned newspaper, depicted what many in the Japanese community thought of the Settler State of America: a Japanese worker with his knee on Uncle Sam's back, pulls back his head by its white hair and is about to punch him in his darkened face. Behind the male worker, a female worker raises her hoe over her head ready to bash someone or something on the ground, not depicted, but probably a White luna rather than a cane stalk or weed. *The Washington Times* reprinted the cartoon on June 11, 1909, with the caption "Incendiary Japanese Cartoon in Hawaiian Paper."

"THE STRIKE IS ON, BUT——"

The caption at the bottom in English reads "The Strike is On, But—" The cartoon was published in 1909, the year of the first major plantation strike by Japanese workers.

The plantations broke the strike by refusing to negotiate, having strike leaders arrested, evicting the striking workers from plantation housing, and hiring 3,000 strikebreakers from other ethnic groups—Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, Koreans, and Filipinos. The

strikebreakers were paid $1.50 a day, or $39 for twenty-six days, more than double of what Japanese workers were making. Some Chinese and Portuguese workers threatened to leave their plantation jobs and work as strikebreakers (Kotani 44–45).

3.15

In 1920, the Japanese went on strike again at O'ahu plantations, this time joining striking Filipino workers. The 8,300 Filipino and Japanese workers asked for a raise from $0.77 a day to $1.25 a day for men, and a minimum wage of $.93 a day for women. They also wanted an eight hour workday and more benefits, like an insurance fund for misfortune and old age and paid maternity leave for women.

Working twenty-six days a month at $0.77 a day, the workers made $20.02 a month, or $240.24 a year. The plantation owners argued that they paid for the workers' housing, lighting, and fuel costs, so they refused to budge on wages, adding that the plantation workers were given bonuses, designed to motivate them to work a minimum of 20 days per month, out of the required 26. (The work was brutal, and workers didn't always work 26, or even 20 days a month.) However, even with bonuses, the monthly wage averaged only $48.80 (Kotani 48), or $585.60 annually. Some strikers wanted to forgo bonuses and ask for $3 a day instead (four times more than what they were making), which would bring their pay to $60 for a full month's work, or $720 annually.

The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* began a "Fear the Jap Takeover" campaign, blaming the strike on "Japanese Agitators." A cartoon published on February 12, 1920, portrayed a "Japanese Agitator" as a would-be King of Hawai'i. Another cartoon depicted a Japanese flag held in a hand labeled "Japanese Agitators" being raised over a mill labeled "Hawai'i's Industry." "Agitator" apparently referred to the Japanese businessmen and newspaper editors who organized the workers and supported strikes.

The White plantation owners broke the strike using Hawaiian, Portuguese,

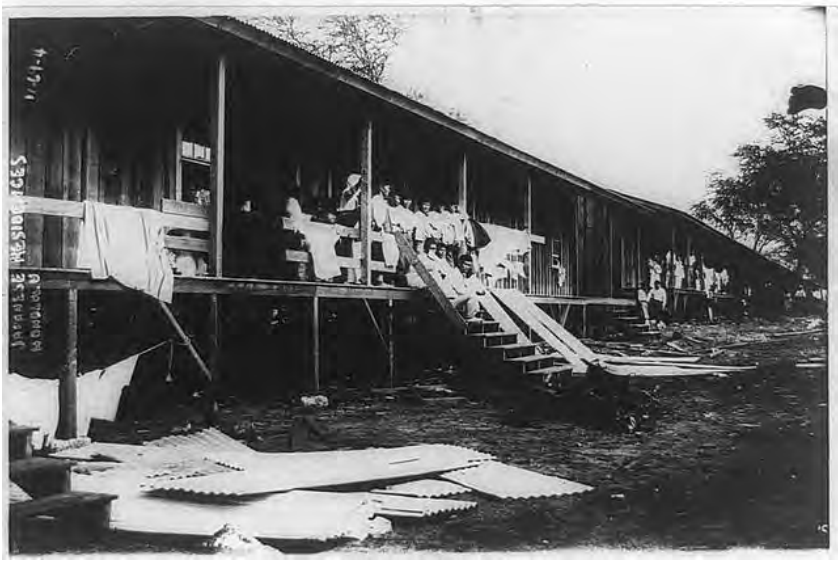
Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Korean scabs, as well as scabs from the Philippines, from a different province than the one from which the Filipino workers already in Hawai'i came.

After the workers abandoned the strike, the workers were asked to return to work "in the spirit of aloha"; instead, disgusted by the planters' attitude as well as by the low pay and poor living conditions, many of the Japanese decided to leave. According to Fuchs, even though the planters offered bonuses, "thousands of [workers] tried to find new jobs in town... In 1919, there had been 24,791 Japanese sugar workers. ... [b]y 1924, only 12,781 remained" (*Hawaii Pono: A Social History* 225).

Fuchs summarizes the two decade between 1920 and 1939, when the Japanese left the plantations and "the proportion of Japanese retail dealers and skilled and semiskilled workers leaped forward":

> There were more Japanese machinists, painters, glazers, varnishers, carpenters, and fishermen than there were of any other group. The Chinese had created markets among their own people for specialty foods and novelties; the Japanese did the same. They also set up stores in the plantation villages and small towns on the outer islands. Although there were only 237 Japanese retail dealers in 1896, by 1930 there were 1,835. Many believed shopkeeping to be one of the easiest steppingstones to economic security, and by 1939, Japanese were operating 49 per cent of the retail stores of Hawaii. Because store hours were long and hard and the competition was cutthroat, wives and daughters were sent out to haole homes as domestic servants and nurses to supplement meager store profits. As late as 1935, the Japanese provided 56 per cent of the domestic servants in the Islands. (*Hawaii Pono: A Social History* 120)

The Japanese who moved to Honolulu to work in the trades joined



Japanese Housing in Honolulu c. 1900-1920

other workers of the urban working class in tenement housing, similar to the barracks in plantation camps.

According to Harris Hirata, who grew up in the 1940s in one such "camp" around Corkscrew Lane near Fort Street in downtown Honolulu, his neighborhood consisted of a "Filipino Camp, past the Japanese/Korean Camp (my home) and a Kanaka [Hawaiian] Camp. They were referred to as 'camps' because they were tight concentrations of specific ethnic groups" (Sigall, "Corkscrew Lane").

3.16

When the Japanese workers began their exodus from the plantations after the 1909 and 1920 strikes, the White planters concocted a preposterous plan to get cheap labor by contracting 30,000 Chinese workers for five years to replace the workers who left. Congress was loathed to allow more Chinese workers into America, having banned the Chinese in 1882 and excluded them from becoming naturalized citizens. In 1921, representatives of the planters went to Congress with Territorial delegate Kalanianaole to lobby for their plan. The Chinese workers would be sent back to China after five years; by then, the planters promised Congress, they would have recruited enough White workers for their labor needs.

Royal D. Mead, executive secretary for the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) told Congress that the goal of the plan was to ensure that Whites would continue to rule Hawai‘i::

> ... the Territory of Hawai‘i is now and is going to be American; it is going to remain American under any condition and we are going to control the situation out there. ... I do not think there is any contest as to who shall dominate; the white race, the white people, the Americans in Hawai‘i are going to dominate and will continue to dominate. (*Labor Problems in Hawaii*, 300–301)

Mead equates “Americans” to “the white race, the white people,” even though Hawaiians were also US citizens. He bashed the Japanese aliens as un-American, but didn’t elaborate on how he viewed the Native citizens.

Kalanianaole tried to allay Congress’ loathing of the Chinese by contrasting them to the Japanese, asserting that the Chinese in Hawai‘i were more willing to become Americans than the Japanese: “We have Chinese citizens there of whom we are proud. They make fine citizens ... they have adopted American ideals to a very much greater extent than the Japanese and are American as nearly as any foreign people can ever be” (*Labor Problems in Hawaii* 451). The Chinese, of course, came a generation or two before the Japanese, had children who were US citizens by birth, and were farther along the road to assimilation than the Japanese. (But if the Chinese “make fine citizens,” why was plan to send them back to China after five years?)

Earlier in the hearing, to explain why the Japanese had to be replaced, Kalanianaole pointed out that “ten or eleven years ago,” he had warned Congress about “the danger of the political domination of Hawaii by the Japanese” (447). Now he asserted that “not only are we in danger politically, but industrially and economically,” but the growing Japanese population was “un-Americanizing” the US Territory (448). He also feared that “the growing pool of Japanese immigrant laborers” would take jobs away from Hawaiians (“Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole” 119).

3.17

Kalanianaole’s biographer asserts that the Congressional delegate’s

"antipathy" for the Japanese "seemed based ... on racial prejudice" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 119). Earlier she notes that seventeen-year-old Kalanianaole was sent by King Kalākaua to study in Japan in 1888, to learn the art of diplomacy. The King also hoped that he would marry a Japanese princess to bring the two nations closer together, but the prince "made no effort to secure a marriage" ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 112).

However, at the 1921 hearing, Kalanianaole told Congress that there was "no feeling of hatred toward [the Japanese] as a people." He presented Congress with a vision of Hawai'i that differentiated it from America: "I don't know whether it is the Hawaiian atmosphere, but the way the different races have lived harmoniously in Hawaii should be a lesson to the people on the mainland as to how races can live in one country in peace and harmony" (*Labor Problems in Hawaii* 454). His statement on racial harmony may have been intended to persuade Congress to allow Hawai'i to bring in workers of any ethnicity willing to come.

John Raker, a Congressman from California, tried to bait Kalanianaole into expressing a racist position on miscegenation by asking him, "If you brought the Chinese over to Hawaii, would you be opposed to their marriage with Hawaiians?" Kalanianaole replied, "That is the business of the individual whether he wants to marry a Japanese or Chinese or anybody else" (*Labor Problems in Hawaii* 457). In fact, Hawaiians had intermarried not just with the Chinese, but with Whites. Had the Congressman known the extent of miscegenation in Hawai'i, he might have been shocked, if not horrified. In 1920, out of 41,750 Hawaiians, 29,099 (70%) were mixed; 18,027 (43%) were Caucasian Hawaiian and 11,072 (27%) were Asiatic Hawaiian (US Census Bureau, *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, "Table 26. Hawaii—Race and Hispanic Origin: 1900 to 1990").

While Kalanianaole was open-minded on miscegenation, after he was released from prison for his role in the 1895 counter-revolution, he married Chiefess Elizabeth Kahanu Kaleiwohi-Kaauwai, who had visited him while he was in prison ("Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole" 114)..

Congress wasn't persuaded by Kalanianaole's praise of the Chinese or of Hawai'i's racial harmony; and contract labor was illegal under US law anyway, so the Chinese recruitment plan was shelved. The planters couldn't find White workers willing to come to Hawai'i to work for

low plantation wages, so their recruiters turned to the US colony of the Philippines for workers, and Filipinos became the dominant work force on the plantations.

3.18

After the failure of the 1909 strike on O‘ahu, McGregor reports “[t]he number of Japanese [living] in Honolulu more than doubled, from 12,000 in 1910 to 24,500 in 1920” (“‘Āina Ho‘opulapula: Hawaiian Homesteading” 9). As aliens, the Japanese couldn’t compete with Whites and Hawaiians for government or public service jobs, political offices, or the patronage jobs that came with elective office; or for jobs in the White-owned Big Five and other corporations and companies that dominated Hawai‘i’s economy and didn’t hire Japs. However, Japanese workers could compete in fishing, farming, and the trades.

The movement of the Japanese into Honolulu looking for work aroused the resentment and anger of Natives against the alien competitors. McGregor quotes from a Honolulu Star-Bulletin report (July 1919) on “a meeting organized by the Hui Po‘ola, a stevedores’ union, to discuss how to drive the Chinese and Japanese stevedores out of the waterfront”:

> “Drive the Japanese out,” Clarence L. Crabbe, superintendent of the Oceanic wharf at Pier 6, shouted. “Today 80 percent of the laborers are Japanese and only 20 percent Hawaiians.” [The 1930 US Census reported, a decade later, that in Honolulu, there were 433 Hawaiian longshoremen and stevedores (372 unmixed and 61 mixed) and 277 Japanese longshoremen and stevedores; in the Territory, there were 574 Hawaiian longshoremen and stevedores (478 unmixed and 96 mixed); and 488 Japanese longshoremen and stevedores. (US Census Bureau report for Hawaii, 1930, “Occupation Statistics,” “Table 8. Male and Females 10 Years Old and Over in Selected Occupations, by Race, for the Territory” and “Table 9. Male and Females 10 Years Old and Over in Selected Occupations, by Race, for Honolulu” 88–92).]
>
> D. K. Kaeao, aged 65 years, one of the oldest Poola men on the front, spoke for a rejuvenation of the old days, “Then we had everything,” he said. “Now, alas, we have nothing. Even our jobs are going away from us.”

> Benjamin Wright of the Honolulu Iron Works declared the natives had lost their flag and their lands, and had nothing but their vote. And now the Japanese are coming in herds to take your jobs away.
>
> Frank Archer said, "This is our land. It belongs to us. Strangers have come here from the other side and have fattened on the land. When they get fat they go back. Everybody gets rich through the Hawaiians, and we are thrown out." (Qtd. in McGregor, "'Āina Ho'opulapula: Hawaiian Homesteading" 12).

3.19

McGregor summarizes the testimony of Territorial Senator John Wise at a 1919 hearing of the House Committee on Territories in Congress, describing "the competition from Japanese in the various trades":

> [Wise] shared his own experience with competition from Japanese in the carpentry trade in which he had been trained. The Japanese, who were willing to work for lower wages, had caused wages to be lowered across the board, leading many Hawaiian tradesmen to take up other occupations. A good many of our young people today are forced to take other trades than carpentry or mechanics simply because there is no opening for them. They could not compete with the Asiatics" (13).

A decade after the 1919 hearing at which Wise lamented the lack of work for Hawaiian carpenters, the 1930 census reported that there were 241 Hawaiian carpenters, unmixed (104) and mixed (137); and 2,793 Japanese carpenters (*US Census Bureau Report for Hawaii, 1930*, "Occupation Statistics," "Table 8. Male and Females 10 Years Old and Over in Selected Occupations, by Race, for the Territory" 88–90).

Carpentry was a highly developed and beloved craft in Japan, where for centuries carpenters constructed massive wooden palaces, shrines, temples, and castles, as well as homes, businesses, farm houses, and warehouses. Farmers had to know the basics of carpentry and tools to build and repair their homes. My maternal grandfather, who arrived as a farm laborer in 1907, was listed in the 1910 census as a carpenter for the plantation. My dad also loved carpentry, and was trained by the US Army to build housing and buildings during the post-war Occupation of

Japan, and worked as a carpenter after the war until he went to college on the GI Bill.

3.20

The 1919 hearing of the House Committee on Territories about employment competition between Japanese alien workers and Native Hawaiian citizens motivated Congress to support a “rehabilitation” movement to move Hawaiians back to the land as farmers. In 1920, Congress passed the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act proposed by Territorial delegate Kalanianaole, similar to the one first proposed by the first delegate, Robert Wilcox, in 1901. It “set aside roughly 200,000 acres across the Hawaiian Islands for 99-year leases to claimants at least 21 years old with 50 percent or more Hawaiian blood” (“Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole” 119). The 200,000 acres came from the Public Land Trust, which the Organic Act of 1900 (incorporating Hawai‘i as a US Territory) transferred to the Territory for five public purposes, including “betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians.” (See subsection 2.31, in “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i.”)

Kalanianaole originally proposed that lots totaling 200,000 acres be granted in fee-simple to anyone with Hawaiian blood; the final version of the Act allowed only for leasing of lots, to those with 50 percent or more Hawaiian blood, creating a perpetual government program for Hawaiian homesteading. The acreage limits to leases were listed in section 207:

> (1) not more than forty acres of agriculture lands or lands used for aquaculture purposes; or (2) not more than one hundred acres of irrigated pastoral lands and not more than one thousand acres of other pastoral lands; or (3) not more than one acre of any class of land to be used as a residence lot; provided that in the case of any existing lease of a farm lot in the Kalanianaole Settlement on Molokai, a residence lot may exceed one acre but shall not exceed four acres in area.

3.21

As an alternative to finding work in the trades, as Fuchs noted, the Japanese began establishing businesses—small stores, restaurants,

barber shops, taxi stands, tailor shops and laundry services, carpentry and masonry services, pottery and metal shops, small hotels, theaters, saké and shoyu breweries, small farms for vegetable, fruit, sugar, and coffee, fishing enterprises and fish shops, printing shops and newspapers, and so on (123). In 1920, the Japanese population was 43% of the total population in the US Territory, a sizable base for business activities; the businesses also sold goods and services to the multiethnic community.

The expanding economy that allowed the Issei to establish businesses and find wage-paying non-plantation jobs was driven, of course, by the profits from the plantations that exploited cheap Japanese and Filipino labor. The relative success of the Issei outside the plantations created an inertia for them to stay in the islands to make money while starting families. The return to Japan could be postponed until after their children had grown up, or when the Issei were ready to retire. For now, spending their adult lives living and working in Hawai'i looked promising, more promising than returning to Japan, which was becoming increasingly aggressive militarily and likely to be engaging in more wars in Asia. Hawai'i was a more peaceful, safer place to live, start businesses and families, and raise children who wouldn't be drafted and sent to war, as they might be if they were living in Japan.

Contrary to what the myth of Asian Settler Colonialism might lead readers to believe, the Issei didn't join the White ruling class and its Settler State. Since they intended to return to Japan, they didn't assimilate.

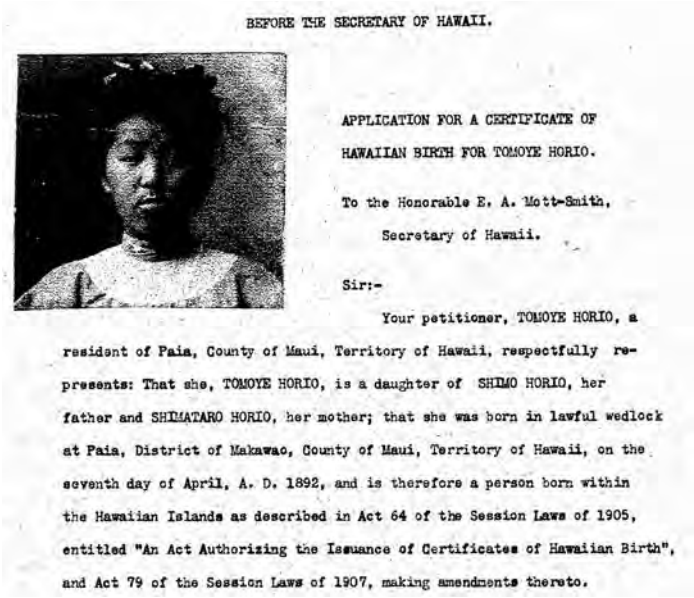
3.22

My dad's father, Makisō Kawaharada arrived in Honolulu in 1906. He was a twenty-year-old farm laborer. He had eight years of schooling. According to a family story, he came to look for an older brother who had come earlier, but never found him. Perhaps his older brother was one of the 29,000 emigrants who died in Hawai'i and was buried without family in a cemetery allotted to workers; or he may have moved to the continent. No one in the family knows what happened to him.

Like others from farming families, Grandpa may have come to Hawai'i to escape the military draft in Japan. Not the exempted first son, he was a year away from the age at which young men could be conscripted to serve for three years. His younger brother, Noboru, served in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), when able-bodied men

as young as 17 were conscripted; Noboru was wounded and died after returning home, a year or so before Makisō left for Hawai‘i. The family may have decided that instead of his risking being drafted and injured or killed, it was better if he went in Hawai‘i to earn money to support the family.

Grandpa ended up on Maui. In 1910, he married eighteen-year-old Tomoe Horio who was born in 1892 in Pāi‘a, Maui, one of the few Nisei children born in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Her father is listed in the 1910 Census as an engineer for a pump station, probably for irrigating cane fields. In 1908, Tomoe's father applied for a certificate of Hawaiian birth for his oldest daughter. Her Hawaiian birth made her a citizen of the Hawaiian Kingdom, which recognized jus soli, or citizenship by place of birth (Young). Because of that citizenship, she was granted US citizenship when Hawai‘i became a US Territory.



BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF HAWAII.

APPLICATION FOR A CERTIFICATE OF HAWAIIAN BIRTH FOR TOMOYE HORIO.

To the Honorable E. A. Mott-Smith, Secretary of Hawaii.

Sir:-

Your petitioner, TOMOYE HORIO, a resident of Paia, County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, respectfully represents: That she, TOMOYE HORIO, is a daughter of SHIMO HORIO, her father and SHIMATARO HORIO, her mother; that she was born in lawful wedlock at Paia, District of Makawao, County of Maui, Territory of Hawaii, on the seventh day of April, A. D. 1892, and is therefore a person born within the Hawaiian Islands as described in Act 64 of the Session Laws of 1905, entitled "An Act Authorizing the Issuance of Certificates of Hawaiian Birth", and Act 79 of the Session Laws of 1907, making amendments thereto.

1908 Application for a Certificate of Hawaiian Birth for Tomoye Horio

In the 1910 census, Grandpa is listed as living in the Horio household in Pāi‘a and working with his father-in-law at the pump station. In 1915, Tomoe gave birth to a son, but died from post-partem hemorrhaging. The doctor arrived too late to stop the bleeding. Tomoe's grandparents came from Japan and took the infant home with them to raise him there; two years later, he died.

In 1915, Grandpa returned to Tomo, his hometown in Hiroshima Prefecture, and married Harumi Masuda. Their families knew each other. Grandma had an eighteen-year-old brother, Satoru, who arrived in Honolulu in September 1906 as a farm laborer, just three months after Grandpa. He moved to Los Angeles, and died of typhoid fever in 1907 in the San Gabriel Valley, a rural farm community east of Los Angeles.

Grandpa brought Harumi to Maui and started a family. The 1920 census records that he was a sales clerk for a grocery store in Hāmākua-poko Village, living with his wife and two daughters. In 1928, Grandpa was offered an opportunity to open a restaurant across West Kuiaha Road from the Libby, McNeil, & Libby pineapple cannery in Pa‘uwela-Kui‘aha. Commercial pineapple cultivation started in Hawai‘i at the turn of the century. By the 1930s, the pineapple industry was the second largest industry in Hawai‘i, after sugar, with the islands becoming the top producer of pineapples in the world.

The cannery manager wanted to close the company cafeteria and have Grandpa open a restaurant to feed his workers breakfast and lunch. Grandpa bought cannery land on the side of a spur of an arid, uncultivable gulch across the road from the cannery. He built a restaurant at street level, and a two-story house below it. By then he and his wife had six children. While Grandpa worked as a salesman and delivery man for a dry-goods store, Grandma ran the restaurant. They eventually raised ten children in the home below the restaurant.

After Grandpa passed away in 1953, Grandma operated the Kawaharada Restaurant until the late 1970s with the help of her two daughters, Grace and Stella. Grandpa made saimin noodles from dough, using a recipe from two Chinese cooks who lived with her and Grandpa in the early years of the restaurant. Grandma also ran a small bakery and sundries store just inside of the front door of the restaurant. For sale at the bakery, she baked apple, peach and coconut pies, pastry snails, anpan (buns filled with azuki bean paste), and doughnuts, deep-fried in hot oil and sprinkled with sugar. During World War II, the restaurant began serving hamburgers and french fries to feed US Marines stationed at Camp Maui, which was built on land leased from the Baldwin Sugar Plantation in nearby Ha‘ikū. (My Maui grandparents’ story after the war appears in subsection 3.66 below. A long version of their lives appears in *Makiso (1887-1953) and Harumi (1899-1999) Kawaharada*.)

The Kawaharada Restaurant on the side of a arid spur of Kuiaha Gulch across West Kuiaha Road from the Libby, McNeil, & Libby Pineapple Cannery. In 2024, the building (which the family sold in 2012) was registered as a historical property by its new owner, a member of the Baldwin family that owned plantations on Maui

The Kawaharada family gathered in front of the restaurant, c. 1931. Grandpa (second from the left) with his oldest son, five-year-old Makita (my dad). To my dad's right is his 3-year old brother Harry; to the left of Grandpa and my dad are daughter Stella, Grandma holding infant Elaine, and three more daughters Hazel, Grace, and Jane, who was the oldest child.

3.23

My mom’s father, Gunichi Kuwahara, arrived in Hawai‘i as a twenty-year-old farm laborer in 1907. A record at the Japanese consulate in Honolulu gives his address as Pi‘ihonua, a plantation village five miles west of downtown Hilo. The 1910 US Census lists him as a carpenter living in Pi‘ihonua and working for the plantation. He was also the head of a household with four boarders.

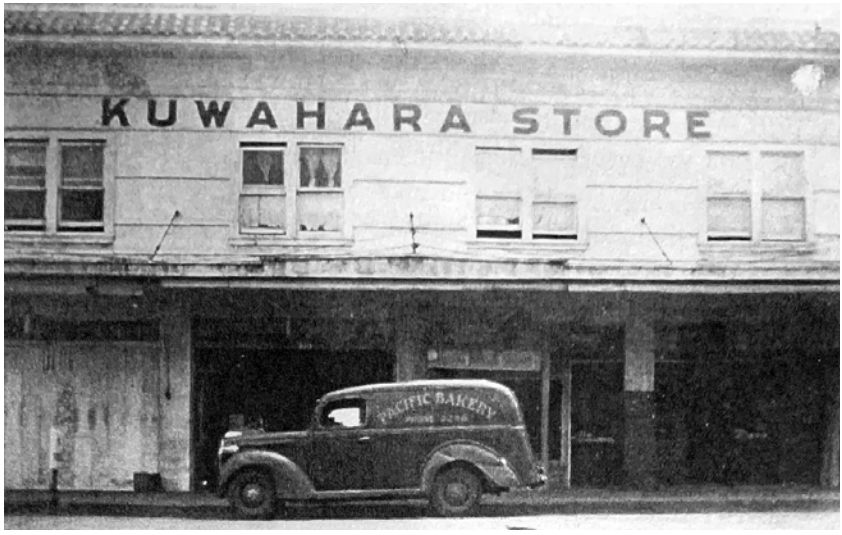
In 1914, his family in Japan arranged a proxy marriage to a picture bride. His wife, Koyuka (née Kiyokawa), arrived in Hawai‘i later that year. Grandpa started a family and a store. The 1918 Hilo directory lists G. Kuwahara Store selling groceries, dry goods, tobacco, and Japanese and American goods at 648 Waiānuenue Avenue, which runs between Pi‘ihonua and downtown Hilo. The 1920 directory records that he was living with Grandma and two sons in a house near the store, at 676 Waiānuenue Avenue. His younger brother, who arrived in Hawai‘i as a farm laborer in 1908, also lived in the house and worked as a salesman for the store. (His brother may have also come to escape the draft; he was nineteen years old and the second son, eligible for the draft when he turned 20.)

In 1921, Grandpa moved his store to 54 Kamehameha Avenue, between Shipman Street and Waiānuenue Avenue in downtown Hilo, on the waterfront of Hilo Bay. That year, he also bought a house for his wife and three sons on Kaūmana Road, about a mile upland from downtown Hilo. By 1928, he had moved his store again, to 136–138 Kamehameha Avenue, doubling the street frontage.

In 1938, he bought an old two-story building on Kamehameha Avenue from a Portuguese owner, on land leased from a Hawaiian family. His store had expanded again, with a triple address, 211-213-215 Kamehameha Avenue. He also opened two branch stores and took orders from plantation communities on the Hilo-Hāmākua coast; the orders were delivered by truck as far as Honoka‘a, forty-five miles away. He joined other Issei retailers who imported goods from Japan and formed an association to buy in bulk to compete with the Big Five AMFAC, which owned a concrete building on Kamehameha Avenue near his. The association members welcomed Japanese merchant ships to Hilo Harbor and entertained the officers and crews.

In 1938, Grandpa built a two-story house on Kaūmana Road. His wife and six children lived upstairs. His younger brother lived downstairs with his Honolulu-born wife and their five children. His

brother continued working for Grandpa's store while his wife ran a small store on the ground floor of the two-story house, next to a barbershop, which rented the space.



Grandpa's store on the ocean side of Kamehameha Avenue in Hilo, 1930s. (Subica, *Moms and Pops before Wal-marts and K-Marts 99*)

Grandpa's two-story house, Kaūmana Road, 1940s (Subica 99)

3.24

White and Hawaiian politicians who controlled Hawai'i in the first half century of the Territory promoted the notion that the economy was a zero-sum game—whatever the Japanese aliens gained, Whites and Hawaiians would lose an equivalent amount. Those who held this view resented the upward mobility of the Japanese and couldn't envision a future, as Mayor John Wilson (1871–1956) and others did, in which the share of wealth would increase for everyone when the wealth of the islands as a whole increased. Wilson served three terms as mayor of Honolulu: 1920–1927, 1929–1931, and 1946–1954.

John Henry Wilson

Wilson's Tahitian-Scottish father, C.B. Wilson, was a member of Queen Lili'uokalani's Privy Council and served as Marshal of the Monarchy. His Hawaiian-European mother, Eveline, was one of the Queen's Ladies-in-Waiting. Their son John was in the first class at Stanford University in 1891, where, with financial help from the Queen, he studied engineering (Krauss, Johnny Wilson: First Hawaiian Democrat 32–33).

When Wilson returned to Hawai‘i, he started a construction business. In 1897, he and his partner Louis Whitehouse, whom he had met at Stanford, built the first carriage road through a pass in the Ko‘olau Mountains, from Nu‘uanu Valley in Honolulu, down the cliffs known as the Nu‘uanu Pali, to the Windward, or east, side of the island. Wilson hired Chinese and Japanese plantation workers, paying them $5 more a month than the $10 a month they made on the plantations (Krauss 57–58). The workers on the Pali Road included Japanese masons who built the retaining walls to shore up segments of the cliff-side road. One of the masons fell 500 feet to his death during the construction (Krauss 61). A few years after the Pali Road project, Hawaiian and White Territorial legislators passed a law banning Asian migrants from working on public projects

Nu‘uanu Pali Road, 1900: a traveler sitting on a retaining wall built by Japanese masons

Wilson also hired Japanese workers to build the railroad around Ka‘ena Point in 1898, connecting West O‘ahu to the North Shore. On his sixty-foot wooden steamer, Wilson transported his workers to Keawa‘ula, a beach on the west coast of O‘ahu near Ka‘ena Point, where the workers camped to build the track. They were spooked by what they believed were Hawaiian spirits in nearby Makua Valley;

Wilson thought his workers were suffering from poisoning from the fish they caught and ate to feed themselves (Krauss 60–61). Later Japanese fisherman frequented the area. The beach eventually acquired the nickname “Yokohama Bay.”

In 1927, when Wilson moved to Kaimukī, he asked Japanese of “modest means” to invest in his Waialae Land Company, which he established to crush rocks for road construction and build houses. His Kaimukī neighbors were Japanese farmers. Wilson and his wife Kini Kapahu (1872–1962), a well-known hula dancer and musician, raised chickens and hogs (Krauss 197–198).

Wilson was one of the founders of the Democratic Party in 1900, the party that would eventually recruit the children of Japanese immigrants to join a multiethnic working-class party that would take over the Territorial government from the White Oligarchs and their Hawaiian allies. Today, whenever I drive over the Nu‘uanu Pali road or through the John B. Wilson Tunnel, which Mayor Wilson first proposed in 1949, I recall appreciatively the support and aloha that the Mayor had for my grandparents’ and parents’ generations. I also recall the workers who helped build the road and tunnel, which made my family’s commute between Kāne’ohe and Honolulu in the 1950s and 1960s so much more convenient.

3.25

Wilson was Mayor of Honolulu when the Hawaiian Homesteading Act passed Congress in 1920. He was highly critical of it. He believed that Kalanianaole had been hoodwinked by the White sugar planters who argued that the 200,000 acres designated to be leased for Native Hawaiian homesteading should be unimproved, marginal land, so planters could continued to lease the prime agricultural land to reap profits and pay taxes that would supposedly be used to help develop the marginal lands for Hawaiians. Wilson argued that Kalanianaole’s plan was “a cynical ploy by the sugar planters, who would keep those lands good for farming and give up only those they had already rejected as useless” (Krauss 174). Wilson and his wife once farmed in the remote Pelekunu Valley on the north coast of Moloka‘i and knew how hard it was to farm on undeveloped land.

Kalanianaole conceded that the homesteading land was “second class” but pointed out that the Act “made funds available for farming equipment and home construction”; however, as his Congressional

biographer notes, “Ultimately, many homesteaders found themselves beholden to larger [White-owned] agricultural firms once again for even such basic needs as roads and irrigation” (119). (For a detailed discussion of the debates that took place among Hawaiians, White plantation and ranch owners in Hawai‘i, and White politicians in Washington, D.C., to shape the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, see McGregor’s “‘Āina Ho‘opulapula: Hawaiian Homesteading” [1990] and Troy J.H. Andrade’s. “Belated Justice: The Failures and Promise of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act” [2020]. Andrade also details the struggles of the federal and state government, which took over the program after Statehood in 1959, to implement the Act and provide homesteads to Native Hawaiians.)

3.26

Unlike Mayor Wilson, Whites and other Hawaiians approved of Japs only as long as the Japs remained in low-wage jobs on the plantations or worked as servants, housekeepers, cooks, chauffeurs, and yardmen; and as long as they obeyed the laws and paid taxes. As aliens, the Issei had no say in policies, laws, programs, or services paid for by their taxes. In the eighteenth century, White American Settlers used the slogan “Taxation without representation is tyranny” as a rallying cry to overthrow the British colonial government and establish a new American colony independent of Britain. But most of the migrant Japanese workers in the Territory of Hawai‘i had no interest in protesting taxes or establishing a new government; they accepted their taxes as fees that allowed them to reside in the Territory to earn money for their families back home.

The Territory passed laws to prevent aliens from competing economically with citizens. As early as 1902, “officials attempted to prevent [Asians] from entering the fishing industry by imposing a tax on fish caught by aliens” (La Croix and Fishback, “Migration, Labor Market Dynamics, and Wage Differentials in Hawaii’s Sugar Industry, 1901–1915” 62). Manako Ogawa notes that “[s]ince the late 1920s, noncitizen fishermen [had to obtain] fishing licenses for $5 per year, while licenses for citizens were free” (*Sea of Opportunity: The Japanese Pioneers of the Fishing Industry in Hawai‘i* 97).

Asians were also prohibited from working on public road crews, and a legislative act prohibited government land from being “acquired or held” for the benefit of an alien (La Croix and Fishback 62). The

Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 banned the Japanese from working on federal construction projects (“Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole” 119).

Why didn’t the Territorial legislature pass alien land laws to prohibit Japs from owning or leasing land to prevent them from settling, as States on the West Coast did? Probably because the wealthy Whites and Hawaiians who owned most of the private land wanted the option of selling unused or unusable land to aliens or foreigners. Due to the shortage of plantation labor, the White planters began leasing some of their sugar land to Japanese contractors under sharecropping agreements. The plantation provided land, equipment, and supplies and kept 6/7 of what the crop was worth (Kotani 37-8).

At the 1921 Congressional hearing on Hawai‘i’s labor shortage, when Kalanianaole was asked why the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 didn’t have a provision to ban Japanese aliens from buying government land, he replied that it did, but the Japanese had previously purchased “Government land in the name of their children” (*Labor Problems in Hawaii* 448). When asked how much land had been purchased, he replied that he didn’t know, which suggests it wasn’t much. According to MacGregor, before the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 was passed, between 1912 and 1918, the US Territory allowed some Public Trust Land to be purchased for homesteads, and 827 homesteads went to Hawaiians, 237 to Americans, 420 to Portuguese, and 41 to Japanese (34, Note 13). The Issei may have acquired the 41 lots in the name of their children, who were US citizen. The 1920 Act ended that practice by banning the sale of public lands for homesteading, and allowing only leasing, and only to those who were at least one-half Hawaiian.

3.27

In “The Americanization of Japanese in Hawaii” (1926), E. Guy Talbott, a Methodist minister and advocate for international peace, pointed out the absurdity of the rumor spread by White and Hawaiian politicians during the 1920s that the Japanese were taking over Hawai‘i’s economy and lands. He writes that the vast bulk of real and personal property in Hawai‘i was owned by White Americans, and there was no danger of the control of that property passing into the hands of the Japanese. In 1924, for example, the value of property owned by corporations and firms (“the vast bulk of whose capital is owned by Americans”) was

$248 million, or 69% of the total value (544). Individual Whites, about 4% of the population, owned property valued at $44 million, or 12% of the total. The Japanese, who made up 40% of the population, owned property valued at $15.4 million, or 4.3% of the total value.

In *West Of The West?": The Territory of Hawai'i, The American West, and American Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, Aaron Steven Wilson, a part-Hawaiian Ph.D. candidate at the University of Nebraska, provides data on property ownership in Hawai'i for 1919, five years before Talbott's 1924 data. In addition to the value of property owned by corporations and firms and by White and Japanese individuals, Wilson includes the value of property owned by Native Hawaiians and Chinese. The total value of real and personal property in Hawai'i was $250.5 million, with ownership divided as follows:

- Property owned by corporations and firms: $185.6 million, or 74% of the total value
- Property owned by individual Whites, including the Portuguese and Spanish (22.6% of the population in 1920): $38 million, or 15% of the total value
- Property owned by Hawaiians, unmixed and mixed (16.3% of the population): $15.6 million, or 6.2% of the total value
- Property owned by Japanese (43% of the population): $6.6 million, or 2.5% of the total value
- Property owned by Chinese (9% of the population): $4.8 million, or 1.9% of the total value

("Table 2. Property held by territorial citizens according tax returns filed in 1919" [165]. Wilson's data is from "the House Committee on the Territories, Rehabilitation of Native Hawaiians, 66th Cong., 2nd sess., 1920, H. Rep. 839" 6).

3.28

In "Evolution of the Tax System in Hawaii," Lowell Kalapa describes taxation in the US Territory. In 1900, "a tax of 2% on the income of all individuals in excess of $1,000 and 2% on corporate income net profits" was added to the personal and real property taxes, and the school, road, and poll taxes of the Hawaiian Kingdom. (For details of the taxes in the Kingdom, see subsection 2.11, in "2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i.") In 1921, the individual

income tax was changed from 2% to graduated rates ranging from 2% to 5%, and the corporate tax rate was increased to 5%.

According to Talbott in 1924, 5,167 Anglo Saxons were making over $1,000 annually and paying $204,133 in income taxes. By contrast, "only 907 Japanese out of a total population of 125,000" were making over $1,000 annually and paid $10,370 in income taxes (544).

Talbott also cites figures for all taxes paid in 1924: out of the $11,274,941 collected, $8,810,035 (78%) was paid by Anglo Saxons (4% of the population), while $624,824 (5.5%) was paid by Japanese (40% of the population). Based on the tax data, he concludes, "The Japanese in Hawaii are in no slightest sense competitors of the Americans in the industrial and economic control of the islands" (544).

3.29

It's not surprising that in 1924, only 907 workers of Japanese ancestry were making over $1,000 annually, enough to pay income tax. Six years later, in 1930, the Japanese were the second largest group of workers in the Territory, 43,817 (28%) of the 154,262 total workers over 10 years of age. The US Census Bureau reported that the highest percentages of Japanese, male and female, were in occupations with moderate to low incomes ("Occupation Statistics," "Table 8. Males and Females 10 Years Old and Over in Selected Occupations by Race, for the Territory" 88–90).

Of the 35,496 male Japanese workers, the largest number, 13,213 (37%) were in Agriculture, mainly Farm laborers (9,411). There were 3,310 Japanese Farm owners or tenants (i.e., sharecroppers); only 483 were Farm managers or foremen, perhaps plantation luna.

Besides sharecropping on sugar lands, Japanese farmers also entered the coffee-growing industry. According to Odo and Sinoto, "As early as 1892, some Japanese began working on coffee farms, and the numbers increased as Kona [on the west coast of the Big Island of Hawai'i] became something of a haven for Japanese who had escaped from sugar plantations. ... The coffee industry experienced many subsequent swings in world prices, but the Japanese maintained their presence so that, by 1914, they were producing about 80 percent of Hawaiian coffee" (157). Most of the coffee farms were on lands leased from their former White owners.

The second largest number of male workers, 8,956 (25%), were in the category of Manufacturing and mechanical industries,

mainly Carpenters (2,793); Machinists (939); Laborers in Sugar factories and refineries (533); Painters, glaziers, and varnishers (512); Laborers in Fruit and vegetable canning (403); and Laborers and helpers, building construction (343). Only 105 were Foremen and overseers (manufacturing), and only 43 were Managers and officials (manufacturing)

Other male occupations included the following:

- 3,809 (11%) were in Trades, mainly Clerks in stores (1,562) or Salesmen (1,541); only 28 were Bankers or bank officials.
- 3,145 (9%) were in Domestic and personal services, mainly Servants (923) and Laborers in domestic and personal services, e.g. yardmen (845).
- 2,770 (8%) were in Transportation and communication, mainly chauffeurs and truck and tractor drivers (1,300), longshoremen and stevedores (448), and steam railroad laborers (434).
- 1,204 (3%) were in Professional service, mainly Clergymen (156, most likely Buddhist and Shintō priests, with a few Christian ministers); and Teachers in schools (332), probably at Japanese language schools, which were housed at Buddhist temples. (On the establishment of Japanese language schools in Hawai'i, see subsection 3.43 below.)
- 1,189 (3%) were in Clerical occupations, mainly Bookkeepers and cashiers (447) and Clerks (491).
- Only 247 Japanese males (1%) were in Public service (i.e., government jobs), probably Nisei, who were US citizens.

The majority of the 8,321 female Japanese workers were also in occupations with moderate to low incomes. The largest number, 4,177 (50%), were in Domestic and personal services, mainly Servants (2,472) and Laundry operatives (658). Other occupations included the following:

- 1,391 (17%) were in Agriculture, mainly Laborers (1,196).
- 1,142 (14%) were in Manufacturing and mechanical industries, mainly Dressmakers and seamstresses (self-employed, not in a factory) (456); and Operatives in Clothing industries (227).
- 685 women (8%) were in Professional service, mainly Schoolteachers (451), probably in both Japanese language schools (Issei) and public schools (Nisei); 152 worked as Trained

nurses.
- 636 (8%) were in Trades, mainly Saleswomen (322) and Retail dealers (which includes managers and superintendents of retail stores) (273).
- 232 (3%) were in Clerical occupations, mainly Stenographers and typist (93) and Bookkeepers and cashiers (74).
- One woman held a public service job.

In the 1930 census, my paternal grandfather was listed as a Salesman (Dry Goods), working for a plantation store; his wife was a Cook in the family restaurant (and also in charge of raising their first six children between the ages of one and thirteen, with four more born after 1930). My maternal grandfather was listed as a Retail Merchant (Groceries); his wife wasn't working, but was in charge of the household and raising their six children, between the ages of two and fourteen.

3.30

In 1930, 46,291 Filipino workers made up 30% of the workforce, the largest ethnic group. Over 99% of the workers were male, reflecting the high ratio of males to females (5:1) in the adult Filipino population of 63,052. There were only 457 Filipino working women (compared to 8,321 working Japanese women). Of the 45,834 Filipino male workers, 38,407, or 84%, were employed in Agriculture, and 38,204 of those (99%) were Farm laborers (plantation workers).

The third largest group in the workforce were Whites, with 28,348 workers, or 18% of the total workforce. Of these male workers,

- 23,348 (69%) were in Public service, and of those, 15,802 were in the military—soldiers, sailors, and marines.
- White males also held 1,003 out of 1,097 jobs as Officials and inspectors employed by the Territorial and federal governments; they also held 168 out of the 269 jobs in the category of Managers and officials in manufacturing.
- In Agriculture, the 362 White Managers and foremen outnumbered the 170 White Farm laborers (out of a total of 53,534 Farm laborers).
- White males were overrepresented in Professional service occupations like Lawyers, judges, and justices; Physicians and surgeons; and Engineers.

Probably because of the high number of unmarried soldiers, sailors, and marines, the White population had a high ratio of men to women (2:1). Also, since married White women generally weren't employed, there were only 3,405 White women in the workforce. Of these,

- 1,860 (55%) were in Professional service, mainly teachers (1,129)
- 778 (23%) were in Clerical occupations
- 366 (11%) were in Domestic and personal service, mainly Servants ("Occupation Statistics," "Table 8. Males and Females 10 Years Old and Over in Selected Occupations by Race, for the Territory" 90)

Hawaiians, unmixed and mixed (Caucasian Hawaiian and Asiatic Hawaiian), were the fourth largest group of workers (12,871, or 8% of the workforce). Of the 10,271 male workers

- 2,802 (27%) were in Transportation and Communication, mainly Chauffeurs and truck and tractor drivers (488); Laborers, road and street (951); and Longshoremen and stevedores (574).
- 2,171 (21%) were in Manufacturing and mechanical industries, mainly Carpenters (241) and Machinists (277)
- 1608 (16%) were in Agriculture, mainly Farm owners and tenants (328) and Farm laborers (1,099).
- 947 (9%) were in Public Service, mainly Laborers (583) and Policemen (250)
- 5% were in Professional services, mainly Clergymen (36); Lawyers, judges, and justices (48); Musicians and teachers of music (51); Schoolteachers (84); and Civil Engineers and Surveyors (54).

Of the 2,600 Hawaiian female workers,

- 765 (29%) were in Domestic and personal service, mainly Servants (356) and Laundry operatives (101)
- 794 (31%) were in Professional services, mainly Schoolteachers (308)
- 415 (16%) were in Manufacturing and mechanical industries, mainly Operatives in Fruit and vegetable canning (79), and in Other industries (199)

- 266 (10%) were in Clerical occupations, mainly Stenographers and typists (164).

The 1930 census reported on “children 10 to 15 years old gainfully occupied“ because there was a “present-day interest in child workers and in the problems connected with their employment” (81). Out of the 44,425 working children in the Territory, the highest number were Nisei (21,653, or 49%), followed by Hawaiians, unmixed and mixed (7,605, or 17%); Portuguese (4,458, or 10%); Whites (2,528, or 6%); and Filipinos (2,190, or 5%) (“Occupation Statistics,” “Table 20. Number and Proportion of Children 10 to 15 Years Old Gainfully Occupied, by Race and Sex, for the Territory and Honolulu” 101).

3.31

The largest number of workers in the Professional service category were schoolteachers. Public education in Hawai‘i was established in 1840 by Kamehameha III, who reigned from 1825 to 1854. Compulsory attendance started in 1841, for children up to age fourteen. Initially, the instruction was in the Hawaiian language, and taught reading and writing using translated Christian texts like the Bible and hymnals, and translated English textbooks, like a natural history published in 1834 as *He mooolelo no na holoholona wawae eha* (*A history of the four-footed animals*). A history of Hawai‘i was written in Hawaiian in 1838 and published as *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii*. After foreigners began participating in government and business, and the English language became increasingly important for those activities, some of the schools started instruction in English.

When the schools began teaching in English, teachers, mainly White females, were recruited from the continent. In “Normal School and Haole Teachers,” Christine Kirk-Kuwaye, a faculty specialist at UH Mānoa, reports that “Haole teachers had been imported into the Territory as early as 1862.” After 1896, when the Republic of White Oligarchs mandated that all instruction in public schools be in English, fluency in English was required for teachers, and most of the teachers came from the continent. The mission of the public schools in the Territory of Hawai‘i was to Americanize and assimilate Native children and the children of migrant plantation workers. At the same time, the emphasis in the schools was on vocational and agricultural training,

since that was what most of the jobs in Hawai‘i required.

The first teacher training program in Hawai‘i was established at Honolulu High School in 1896. In 1905, a separate Territorial Normal and Training School was established to train teachers, offering a three-year certificate to students with some public school education. The public schools gave preference in hiring to those with certificates. Kirk-Kuwaye notes that "in 1910, 20% of the teachers were uncertified." Starting in 1919, an eight grade education was required for entering the Normal School; in 1920, the entrance requirement was a tenth-grade education; in 1921, it was a high school diploma (twelfth-grade education).

As the school system expanded to high schools, more qualified teachers were needed than could be hired locally. Kirk-Kuwaye writes,

> In the teens and twenties, almost all teachers hired for high school positions were from the US continent and Normal School graduates were given preference for positions in the elementary grades. Any vacancies in the lower grades would be filled by teachers from outside Hawai‘i.
>
> Haole teachers who arrived in the early 1900s conceivably still could be teaching in the early 1930s.
>
> The Department of Public Instruction in the 1930s instituted formal arrangements for teacher exchanges [between Hawai‘i and the continental States], although exchanges had been occurring for some time.
>
> And something that is often passed off as rumor: Haole teachers were preferred because of their English language skills, because they were US citizens, because they, as White Americans, could best model American attitudes and values to instill greater levels of patriotism among their students.

The principal of the Normal School for the first two decade of the twentieth century was Edgar Wood. Kirk-Kuwaye writes he "preferred Hawaiians as teachers" because "from the beginning," he believed that "Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians were natural teachers because of their superior social abilities. Yet according to Wood, the Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian student lacked abstract intelligence needed to succeed in high school." Kirk-Kuwaye adds,

> For this reason, Wood resisted changing Normal admissions

> standards to require high school diplomas. He let it be known that if Normal required a high school diploma followed by two years of Normal training, few if any Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians would be eligible to attend Normal. Ironically, when these requirements were later put in place, the number of Hawaiian applicants [for Normal School] increased.

The 1930 US Census Bureau reported data on schoolteachers in the Territory. White teachers dominated. Out of the 3,607 male and female schoolteachers:

- 1460 (40%) were White (331 men and 1,129 women), although Whites made up only 12% of the total population and 18% of the workforce. White female teachers were especially highly overrepresented.
- 783 (22%) of the schoolteachers were Japanese (332 men and 451 women). Underrepresented, the Japanese were 38% of the total population and 28% of the workforce. Many of the teachers of Japanese ancestry counted may have been Issei aliens employed at the 175 Japanese language schools at Buddhist temples, which in 1930 enrolled 39,144 Nisei students in afterschool programs. (On the establishment of Japanese language schools in Hawai'i, see subsection 3.43 below.)
- 683 (19%) of the schoolteachers were Hawaiian, unmixed and mixed, including 84 men and 599 women. Overrepresented, Hawaiians were 14% of the total population and 8% of the total workforce.
- 455 (13%) of the schoolteachers were Chinese (56 men and 388 women). Overrepresented, they were 7% of the total population and 6% of the workforce. Some of the Chinese may have been teaching at Chinese language schools.
- Out of 46,291 Filipino workers, only 2 (0% of the total), both female, were schoolteachers. Highly underrepresented, Filipinos made up 17% of the total population and 30% of the workforce; most of the Filipino workforce were male Farm laborers.

According to Derek Taira, from 1900–1940, "the percentage of Native teachers in the territorial schools remained constant at 25%," even though the population of Natives fell from 25.5% of the total population to 13.8% (*Imua, Me Ka Hopo Ole* [sic] 129, footnote 21;

however, the 1930 US Census reported the percentage to be 19%, not "constant at 25%" that year). Taira speculates that Native women applied for public school teaching positions during the Territorial years because the profession was controlled by a liberal bureaucracy of the Statewide educational system, and not by the White-male dominant plantations, corporations, and businesses, which relegated women to "secretaries or typists" (126). The plantations also paid Non-white workers less than White workers, for the same jobs.

The Department of Public Instruction, on the other hand, didn't discriminate against Non-whites or females in hiring and promotions: it had a "'carefully prepared schedule' standardizing teachers' pay across lines of gender, 'race, color, nationality, party politics, [and] religious belief.'" It paid the same salaries to both men and women, wasn't controlled by politicians, which minimized "nepotism, favoritism, and political influence," didn't discriminate against married women or women with children, and provided maternity leave and job security for married women (*Imua, Me Ka Hopo Ole* 126–128). Taira comments, "These institutional assurances of merit and transparency proved attractive for Native Hawaiian women and they took full advantage of the opportunity by entering the profession in droves" (128; for Taira's discussion of Native students and teachers in the Territorial education system and their resistance to assimilation, see subsection 4.54 in "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

The demand for teachers, both White and Native, remained high, and teacher shortages persisted because of the growing number of students entering the school system. Kirk-Kuwaye's "Normal School and Haole Teachers" includes a photo of the last graduating class of the Normal School (1931–1932) before it became the University of Hawai'i's Teachers College. There were 92 members in the class. (Sixteen weren't present for the photo, but their names are listed). Of the 92, twenty-eight, or 30%, had Japanese or Okinawan surnames, twenty-two females and six males. The Nisei teachers-in-training in 1931 were from those families earning enough to support their children through high school and post-secondary education.

The Nisei probably found teaching as a profession attractive for the same reasons that Taira suggests Native women entered the profession—it didn't discriminate against women, married or unmarried; and it offered standardized pay, maternity leave, job security, and so on. In addition, many Issei had a reverence for education and teaching, and

passed it on to the Nisei. During the 1890s, when Japan was establishing its public education system, both education and the teaching profession were highly regarded. Although the pay wasn't exceptional, teachers were "looked on with respect and gratitude by parents and the public at large" (*History of Japan's Educational Development* 20).

The Nisei in Normal School in the 1930s represented a vanguard of teachers of Japanese ancestry who served the public schools in large numbers for a couple of generations in the second half of the twentieth century, when their own children, the Sansei, or third generation of Japanese ancestry, began their schooling. The Sansei were part of the Baby Boomers, the largest generation in US history up to that time, born after the war. (For a discussion of the teaching profession in the post-war era, and my critique of the Asian Settlers Club's simplistic criticism of the overrepresentation of the Nisei as teachers in the 1960s and 70s, see subsections 4.46–4.50 in "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

3.32

An occupation in which Issei men were overrepresented was fishing, an occupation that they developed into an industry. According to the US 1930 Census Bureau, of the 1,559 male workers in fishing, over half (866 or 58%) were Japanese, who made up 38% of the population; of the 30 women in forestry and fishing, five were Japanese. Hawaiian males, mixed and unmixed, numbered 365 in fishing, or 23% of the total; they were also overrepresented, making up only 14% of the population. Of the 30 females in forestry and fishing, 23 (77%) were Hawaiian, mixed and unmixed.

In *Sea of Opportunity: The Japanese Pioneers of the Fishing Industry in Hawai'i*, Manako Ogawa describes the first Japanese fishermen in Hawai'i. In the 1890s, some plantation contract laborers who had fishing skills started fishing after their three-year contracts expired; one worker who didn't want to wait deserted the plantation, changed his name, and started fishing for aku (skipjack tuna) out of Hilo Bay (39).

After Hawai'i became a US Territory, when Japanese emigration was unrestricted, Japanese trained at fisheries schools in Japan began arriving in the US Territory. The fishermen were migrants who traveled back and forth between their home villages and countries where they

were allowed to reside and fish; they traveled west to Korea; east to Hawai‘i, California, Oregon, Seattle, and Canada; and south to Taiwan, Borneo, the Philippines, and Australia, where they dove for pearl oysters (Ogawa 40–41). The early migrants to Hawai‘i came mainly from fishing villages around the Inland Sea, from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, and Wakayama Prefectures. As the demand for fish in Hawai‘i increased, the fishermen began recruiting plantation workers who had experience in fishing to join them; it wasn't hard to persuade recruits to leave the plantations, as fishing paid up to twice as much as plantation field work (39). Women married to fishermen worked selling the catch (Ogawa 34).

Natives and the Japanese migrants came into conflict over fishing rights and methods. In 1899, a Japanese fisherman brought to Hilo the first sampan (a traditional sail boat used for fishing in Japan) and began catching more aku than Natives could from canoes, arousing hostility when the price of aku dropped due to a larger supply. A plot to drown the migrant at sea was hatched, but Native friends warned him of the plot, and he escaped by sailing away from his attacker in his sampan (Ogawa 37). (Kali‘ihue Alakaihu's "The Despotic Chiefs of Ka‘ū" narrates a traditional tale about Native fishermen who drown a greedy chief who demanded all their fish [Pukui, *Folktales of Hawaii*, 74–75].)

Another migrant Japanese fisherman, trained at a fisheries school in Ōsaka, emigrated to Maui and fished out of Kahului Harbor. He was banned from certain ports and fishing grounds and had to use his judo and sumo skills to defend himself against assaults (Ogawa 37).

Ogawa notes that in 1900, "259 Japanese were engaged in fishing in O‘ahu, and by 1903, this number had increased to 707." In that same period, the number of Native Hawaiians fishermen declined from 654 to 533 (39).

3.33

Although the Japanese and Hawaiian were competitors in fishing, they also shared their fishing methods as fishers have done since time immemorial. The Japanese admired the Hawaiian pearl shell lure for catching aku (bonito) and brought it back to Japan, where they made copies of the lures using pearl shells from Australia (Ogawa 38; in Australia, pearl shells were also traded inland and used by the Natives in rain-making rituals).

Traditionally, the Japanese made tuna lures from the silvery skin

Hawaiian pearl shell lure (photo from the Maui Ocean Center website)

of mahimahi or mackerel. My dad used the skin of a kawakawa (mackerel tuna) to make a lure for trolling for aku, ʻahi, and mahimahi in Kāneʻohe Bay. I was with him when he caught the kawakawa in the lagoon, but was too prone to seasickness to go out trolling with him, so I don't know if he ever caught any fish using that lure.

During the last decade of the 19th century, the Japanese introduced a throw net to Hawaiʻi. The net, used to catch fish like ayu (sweetfish) in shallows rivers in Japan, turned out to be ideal for catching reef fish on shallow flats where waves broke in Hawaiʻi. The migrant workers used the net to catch their favorite protein to supplement the Western foods provided by the plantation. After the workers left the plantations, the throw net was used to supplement meals at home.

In descriptions of Hawaiian fishing implements and methods in works like Samuel M. Kamakau's *The Works of the People of Old* (1869–1879) and Emma Nakuina Beckley's *Hawaiian Fisheries and Fishing Methods* (1889), the throw net isn't included in the vast array of traditional Native fishing gear. Natives named the net introduced from Japan *ʻupena hoʻolei*, "net [thrown] like a lei" (Young, "'Upena Poepoe" ["Native Fish Nets"]). When White photographers came to the islands during the early twentieth century, they began capturing what to them were exotic images of Hawaiian fishermen using the throw net, and published them as a romantic image of life in Old Hawaiʻi. It was easier to photograph a Native throwing an ʻupena hoʻolei near shore than to go out to sea on a canoe or dive with Native fishermen to photograph actual traditional fishing practices. For tourists who didn't

Throw-net fishing in Japan, depicted in "Scattered Pines on the Tone River," by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797–1858). At the right margin, a net has been flung over shallow water by an unseen fisherman in an unseen boat. An unseen fisherman at the left margin pulls his net back into his boat. In the distance, a fisherman standing in his boat near shore prepares to throw his net.

Native fisherman throwing an 'upena ho'olei. (*Digital Archives of Hawai'i*)

know any better, the image became iconic of Old Hawai‘i, although it actually belonged to a new multicultural Hawai‘i. A photo of a Hawaiian man in a malo throwing a net was more picturesque than one of a Japanese plantation worker throwing a net would have been.

Another easy-to-take photo that became popular in promoting tourism was of the huki-lau (“pulling leaves”), a traditional Native fishing method using a long surrounding net with leaves (lau) attached to it to frighten the fish toward shore after the net was deployed offshore and dragged to the beach. Tourists were photographed participating in this practice of Old Hawai‘i and allowed to take a fish if they wanted one.

Tourist particpating in huki-lau (Digital Archives of Hawai‘i)

With the growth of commercial air travel in the 1960s, tourism became the dominant industry in Hawai‘i.

3.34

Japanese migrant fishermen began establishing companies for buying, processing, and marketing fresh fish, based on the model of fish merchants in Japan. The first such company in Hawai‘i was Suisan, established in Hilo, in 1907.

In 1908, a Japanese fishing company opened in Honolulu to compete with Chinese fish sellers. By 1913, there were three Japanese fishing companies in Honolulu, one with Japanese and Chinese management (Ogawa 45–48). The one that included a Chinese merchant

Japanese fishing boats on the Wailoa River in front of Suisan, Hilo

in management was operated by Matsujirō Ōtani, a fisherman from a small island in Yamaguchi Prefecture. He came in 1908 and started selling fish in a leased space in Chinatown in 1911. He did so well, he also began importing and exporting seafood. In 1920, he won a bid to supply canned crab to the US Army by underbidding two Big Five companies, Theo. H. Davies and Co. and American Factors (Ogawa 58). The White companies no doubt were surprised and angry.

Eventually Ōtani got into food processing as well, manufacturing kamaboko, a traditional Japanese fish paste. His obituary (*The Honolulu Advertiser*, 11 January 1972) notes that by 1940, "he was the largest fish dealer in the Territory," and had "[j]oined the management of Hawaii Suisan (in Honolulu) ... , and secured contracts with the U.S. Army and Navy to supply their fish prior to World War II."

The Japanese fishing companies not only bought the catch from fisherman and auctioned it off to customers, they also supplied the fishing fleet with fuel, bait, ice, and food; secured loans for building boats; paid wharf fees; conducted rescue operations when boats were in distress; and hosted elaborate New Year's banquets for fishermen and fish retailers (Ogawa 49–50).

In 1909, a Senator from Maui introduced a bill "to close the waters of the islands to noncitizens and impose a fine of $100 on violators" (55). The bill was modeled on West Coast legislation to ban Japanese fishermen, although on the West Coast, it was intended to protect the

livelihood of White immigrant fishermen, whereas the bill in Hawai‘i was intended to protect the livelihood of Native fishermen. The bill wasn’t passed because it violated the US-Japan treaty that granted equal rights to Japanese aliens living in America; but the bill also lacked support because the demand for fish was high, and the community wanted the fish that the Japanese fishermen caught, and also the taxes the businesses that sold the fish paid.

In 1913, in Hilo, the legislature banned fishing with nets over twelve feet long. Since the Japanese aku fishermen used long nets to catch bait fish, the ban threatened to devastate Japanese skipjack tuna industry, and the fishermen protested. The ban was lifted on O‘ahu only (Ogawa 57).

Ogawa notes that Native Hawaiians continued working in the fishing industry, operating independently or finding employment with Japanese fishing companies as crew members on sampan boats (60). Hawaiians also continued non-commercial fishing to feed their families, as they had done traditionally, for centuries.

Japanese fishing boats in Honolulu Harbor, with Japanese flags attached to their sail masts. The fishermen unabashedly flew the Japanese flag because they were citizens of Japan, not of America. (*Digital Archives of Hawai‘i*)

3.35

In the late 1910s, F. Walter Macfarlane, a pineapple planter, established a tuna cannery at the seaside end of Cooke Street in Kaka‘ako to can the

tuna brought to Honolulu Harbor by the Japanese fishing fleet. Later, he added a shipyard, hired Japanese craftsmen, and started building boats (Ogawa 63–64). Macfarlane knew about canning from the pineapple industry, which had been canning pineapples in Hawai‘i since 1889, but he had to hire seafood canning experts from the continent for his new enterprise, which drove up his costs, so he sold his company to AMFAC. After a year, AMFAC sold the company to White and Japanese businessmen and fishermen, who established the Hawaiian Tuna Packers Ltd. The company began exporting canned tuna: “in 1927, it produced about 20,000 cans, and the number expanded to 150,000 in 1930” (Ogawa 64). Skipjack tuna fishing and canning eventually became the third leading local industry, after sugar and pineapple.

Traditionally, Hawaiians fished for aku from single or double-hulled paddling canoes, with pearl shell lures attached by lines to poles. Live bait (nehu, or anchovies) was thrown into the ocean from holding containers and when the aku swarmed around the canoes to feed, the pearl shell lures were dropped in; the aku mistook the lures for nehu and bit them; the aku was then flipped out of the water, caught by the fisherman, and pushed off the barbless hook into the canoe. In 1869, Kamakau noted:

> Fishing for aku—*lawai‘a hi ak*u—was greatly enjoyed by chiefs and commoners in the old days and during the reign of Kamehameha I, but the aku diminished during the reign of Kamehameha II [1819 to 1824] and the early years of Kamehameha III and has now disappeared from the places once well known to *ka po‘e kahiko* [the people of old] and from the localities that were famous for the abundance of *aku*. They filled double canoes and boats in such numbers that most of [the fish] rotted. The *aku* and the *‘ahi* fishes disappeared during the time of Kamehameha III [1825 to 1854] from Kaunolu, Haleohi‘u and Kekaha on Hawaii—from Kawaihae to the cape of Makaula. (71)

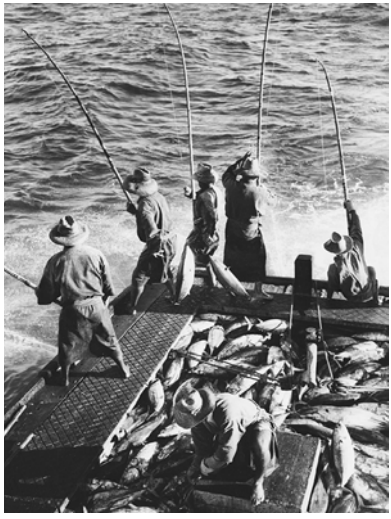
The Japanese began fishing for aku in 40–60 foot diesel-powered sampans to search for the pelagic aku farther from shore, on the open ocean. The boats could stay out for weeks, even in rough seas, with covered fish boxes containing ice blocks to prevent the fish from rotting.

In Japan, the fishermen caught aku (“katsuo” in Japanese) since at

A sixty-foot sampan leaving Kewalo Basin with Lē‘ahi in the distance beyond its prow (*Digital Archives of Hawai‘i*)

least the seventeenth century using live bait and hooked lines attached to poles. According to Hasegawa, the Japanese method originated in Wakayama Prefecture (“The Traditional Lure Fishing in Japan? From the history of Katsuo Fishing,” Feb. 9, 2024. www.tyhasegawa.com).

In Hawai‘i, Japanese fishermen, like Hawaiian fishermen, tossed nehu as live bait into the ocean around their boats; in the feeding frenzy, the aku bit the feathered hooks, and the fishermen flipped the aku out of the ocean with their poles and landed them on deck where the aku fell



Aku fishing from the back deck of a sampan (*Digital Archives of Hawai‘i*)

off of the barbless hook.

3.36

In the early 1920s, the US government became suspicious of alien fishermen with their long-range sampans. According to Van Tilburg, the sampan eventually reached a length of 75 to 90 feet or more and could travel 1,500 miles. Military Intelligence fantasized that the fishermen were spies for the Emperor gathering information about naval vessels, reefs, and harbors in order to help Japan invade and colonize Hawai‘i. The Intelligence service recommended depriving aliens of the right to fish in US Territorial waters (Ogawa 92-93). No action was taken at the time, but in 1930, the government ordered custom agents to start collecting duty on “all fish or marine products brought into the United States from the high seas by vessels owned by noncitizens” (Ogawa 93). The order was rescinded by June of that year after protests by the White Territorial delegate to Congress, and both the White and Japanese Chambers of Commerces in Honolulu, which argued that the duty would drive up the price of fish.

After the Japanese military invaded China in 1937, the US, an ally of China, began background checks on aliens in the fishing industry in Hawai‘i and deported those who had come illegally. During this period fishermen also began heading home to Japan on their own. Ogawa speculates, “They may have felt that the increasing pressure of various regulations made Hawai‘i a less attractive fishing ground, or they may simply have thought about their age and realized it was time to go home and retire” (96–97).

In 1939, a new rule “specified that only US citizens could have licenses to own fishing boats of five gross tons or more and engage in commercial fishing as captains” (Ogawa 97). The Issei fishermen responded by transferring ownership of their boats to US citizens, including their children. In February 1941, seventy-one Issei were convicted of conspiracy to falsify sales documents of ownership transfers, and custom officials seized nineteen boats. By October, the cases were settled and the boats returned on the condition that the owners sell them “to American citizens endorsed by the court and pay fines of 20 percent of the value of the boats plus trial costs” (98).

During the first half of the twentieth century, White politicians and their allies fearmongered about a Jap takeover of not just the economy of Hawai'i, but the government. At the 1921 hearing on Hawai'i's labor shortage, Kalanianaole told Congress that a decade earlier, he had warned the administration about the danger of Jap political domination of the islands. When Congress banned immigration from Japan in 1924, it was too late to stop the inevitable and predictable demographic shift in Hawai'i that would result from the children of the Issei becoming the largest group of voters in Hawai'i—unless America were willing to pass legislation to take citizenship away from Nisei children; or adopt a more radical solution like deportation of everyone of Japanese ancestry, or genocide.

The majority of Nisei were too young to vote or run for office during the first two or three decades of the twentieth century. According to Talbott, in 1920, there were 26,335 registered voters in Hawai'i, and 22,833 voted in the Territorial elections; 2,613 Nisei males were of voting age, but only 657 registered to vote; by 1923, Nisei voters had increased by 607, while White voters increased by 1,556 (545). Talbott concludes, "This does not look like political domination to me" (544-545).

In 1930, the first two Nisei were elected to the Territorial House of Representatives: Tasaku Oka (1892–1936), a Republican lawyer from Hilo, and Andrew Yamashiro, a Democrat from Honolulu. Historian Lawrence Fuchs writes about their election victories, "[m] any remember the feelings of consternation and shock in the Hawaiian community" (*Hawaii Pono: A Social History* 83). Oka served for only one term before retiring; Yamashiro served two terms. (Data on the election of Nisei are from links at "Category: Hawaii legislative sessions," *Wikipedia*, which includes data on the Hawaii Territorial Legislature from the 16th session [1931–1932] to the 30th session [1959–1960]. Some of the lists contain links to information about Nisei legislators, like the ones mentioned below: Tameichi "Tommy" Sakakihara, Sanji Abe, and Wilfred Tsukiyama.)

In 1932, Tameichi "Tommy" Sakakihara (1900–1989) won a seat in the House and was reelected in 1934, 1936, and 1940. Born in Hilo, he worked in a law office, then served as a District Judge for the Big Island. In 1940, four other Nisei, all Republicans, joined him in the legislature, including Sanji Abe (1895–1982), the first Senator of Japanese

ancestry. Born in Kailua, Kona, Abe joined the police department as an interpreter in 1918, then served in the US Army during World War I before becoming a deputy sheriff and a businessman, then running for the Senate from the South Hilo district. His dual citizenship became an issue during the election, so he renounced his Japanese citizenship. (For background on the dual citizenship of the Nisei, see subsection 1.27 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected Idea' …".)

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the US army arrested Sakakihara and Abe in 1942 on suspicion that they were agents of the Emperor, even though Abe was a World War I veteran. Sakakihara and Abe were imprisoned in the Honouliuli detention center on O'ahu, Sakakihara until 1943 and Abe until 1944. In 1943, Abe, Sakakihara and the three other Nisei legislators resigned from office. Sakakihara, a former judge, was released after he signed a pledge not to sue the US government for damages caused by his detention.

After the war, in 1946, Sakakihara ran again for the House and won, along with four other Nisei—one Republican and three Democrats. Republican Wilfred Tsukiyama (1897–1966) won a seat in the Senate. He was a World War I veteran and lawyer (J.D., University of Chicago, 1924), and after Statehood, in 1959, became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Hawai'i, appointed by the first elected governor of the State, Republican William Quinn.

In 1948, Sakakihara was among the twelve Nisei elected to the legislature, two Republicans in the Senate, and six Republicans and four Democrats in the House. Sakakihara is remembered for increasing the funding for Hawaii Vocational College, which eventually became the Hilo campus of the University of Hawai'i.

In 1954, the Democratic Party, backed by multiethnic labor unions, took control of the legislature, winning nine of the fifteen seats in the Senate and 22 of the 30 seats in the House. Of the nine Democratic Senators, three were Nisei; of the 22 Democratic Representatives, thirteen were Nisei. Of the six Republican Senators, four were Nisei; of the eight Republican Representatives, one was Nisei. Overall, of the 45 legislators, 21 (or 46%) were Nisei. (In 1950, Issei and Nisei made up 37% of the population; in 1960, 32% of the population.)

Sakakihara, the incumbent Republican from Hilo, lost his seat in 1954. During the election, he came under attack from the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), which took out a full-page ad accusing him taking salary kickbacks from his legislative employees. (The story of the Democratic Party takeover of the legislature is told in

“4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood,” subsections 4.6–4.28.)

3.38

Although some of the Issei were successful in the trades or starting businesses during the years before World War II, most of them resisted assimilation into the White Settler State and tried to pass on their culture and language to their children. The resistance fed the stereotype among other groups that the Japanese were clannish and unassimilable, and awaiting for orders from the Emperor to assist in a Japanese invasion of the islands. The Issei were clannish and unassimilable, but not because they were awaiting the Emperor’s orders to take over Hawai‘i; instead, they hoped (or dreamed) that one day, they and some or all of their children might return to the homeland.

Trask complains that the narrative of the Asian American ascendancy in Hawai‘i has been used to characterize Hawaiians ”as strangely unsuited, whether because of culture or genetics, to the game of assimilation” (“Settlers of Color” 3). The Issei were not only “unsuited ...to the game of assimilation” due to culture and genetics, but proud of it. They married others of Japanese ancestry and established Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, Japanese language schools, and Japanese language newspapers. *Nippu Jiji* (“Japan-Hawai‘i Affairs,” later the *Hawaii Times*) was published between 1895 and 1985. Under the leadership of editor Sōga Yasutarō (1873–1957), the newspaper supported the 1909 Japanese workers plantation strike. Under the leadership of editor Fred Kinzaburō Makino (1877–1953), *Hawaii Hōchi* (“Hawaii News”), published between 1912 and 2023, supported the Japanese worker strikes in 1909 and 1920. The *Hōchi* also supported the Japanese language schools when the Territorial government tried to shut them down, then regulate them. (For a discussion of the language school, see subsection 3.49 below.)

During the Territorial years, when Hawaiian was prohibited in public school instruction, the Hawaiian community also continued publishing newspapers in Hawaiian to keep their language alive. *Ke Alakai o Hawaii* was published in Honolulu from 1928 to 1937; *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* was published in Hilo from 1917 to 1948. In *Recollections: Memoirs of John Dominis Holt 1919–1935*, Native writer John Dominis Holt IV (1919–1993) recalls that when he was growing up in Honolulu during the early 1930s, many families still

spoke Hawaiian at home, and Hawaiian was also heard on the streets of Honolulu. By the time I grew up in the 1950s, Hawaiian was rarely heard on the street, but Hawaiian music was heard live at Hawaiian family gatherings, night clubs, and hotels, or recorded, for play on phonographs or broadcast on radio and TV.

3.39

The Japanese migrants also passed on to their children their preference to marry someone of Japanese ancestry, even though most of the children had no intention of returning to Japan. In "Race Relations in Hawai'i," Okamura, co-editor of *Asian Settler Colonialism,* reports that in 1940-41, 96 percent of Japanese grooms and 91 percent of brides married in-race, the highest percentages of any ethnic group in Hawai'i (130). All of my sixteen uncles and aunts who married (all but one did) married spouses of Japanese ancestry. However, a few of their generation "jumped the fence," the slang Mom told me her generation used to describe miscegenation. Growing up, I had a handful of friends who were half-Japanese and half-Hawaiian, White, or Filipino.

In "The Grandmother," Portuguese-Japanese writer Susan Nunes tells a semi-autobiographical story of a Portuguese-Japanese girl growing up in Hilo. The narrator senses that the grandmother of Frances, a Nisei friend, looks down on the narrator because she is of mixed ancestry. For revenge, the narrator decides to destroy a "purebred" orchid plant of which the grandmother is proud. The narrators recalls,

> Frances and I played together until we reached intermediate school and different interests pulled us apart. She was my first and only Japanese friend. But she is as alien to me as that part of myself which is like her. As alien as her grandmother was. (*A Small Obligation and other stories of Hilo* 29)

My paternal grandmother tried her best to pass on the Issei marriage preference to her grandchildren. When my family visited her on Maui almost every summer during my childhood and adolescence, as soon as we entered the side door to the restaurant kitchen, Grandma, anticipating our arrival, greeted us. She took a five dollar bill out of her apron pocket, pressed it into my hand, and holding both of my hands firmly in her two hands, offered two pieces of advice—study hard in school and marry someone Japanese, as if those were the two keys to

a happy life. I'm sure she told all of her grandchildren the same thing, but not all of them followed her second piece of advice.

By the 2020 Census, Okamura notes the descendants of the Issei and Nisei were less resistant to miscegenation. By the fourth generation (Yonsei), "[f]ull Japanese (167,362) continue to outnumber those of mixed descent (145,306), although both men and women outmarry at rates comparable to the state average of about 45%" ("The Census Shows Hawaii Is Diverse"). Despite the Issei and Nisei resistance to assimilation, assimilation was well underway among their descendants.

3.40

Missionaries of the Settler State tried to convert Japanese aliens and their descendants to Christianity, as they had done with most of the Hawaiian community during the nineteenth century. However, not many Issei converted. Instead of embracing Christianity to join the White and Hawaiian religious community, the Japanese held firmly to their Buddhist and Shintō religions and worshiped at and supported the temples and shrines they established in Hawai‘i.

The introduction of Buddhism from Japan was encouraged by King David Kalākaua, who reigned from 1874 to 1891. When he traveled to Tōkyō in 1881 to recruit Japanese migrant workers, he was impressed by the temples he saw and assigned his chamberlain to inquire about introducing the religion to Hawai‘i.

The first Buddhist temple, of the Jōdō Shinshū sect, was established in the Hāmākua district of the Big Island in 1894 (Odo and Sinoto 77). Jōdo Shinshū was the largest Buddhist sect in Japan, and became the largest sect in Hawai‘i. The first Shintō shrine, Yamato Jinja, was erected in ‘Ōla'a on the Big Island in 1898 (Odo and Sinoto 78). "Yamato" ("Mountain Serenity") was the original name for Nara Prefecture, where the first Emperor, Jimmu, founded the Japanese nation; most Shintō shrines, however, weren't Imperial Shrines dedicated to Emperor worship; the Japanese who went to Shintō shrines (many, like my paternal and maternal families, didn't) usually went for a New Year's blessing from the enshrined deity or deities (there were hundreds of local and ancestral Shintō deities); and to pray for good health, happy marriages, safe childbirths, success in agriculture, business, and school, etc.; and to purchase amulets for protection against disease, mishaps, and disasters.

The temples and shrines in Hawai‘i were sites where the Issei

could not only practice their religions, but also maintain their language and traditions and pass them on to their children, apart from the Americanized and Christianized community of Whites and Hawaiians. The temples offered cultural activities and language classes and held events like summer bon dances to honor and entertain the ancestors in Japan. The primary purpose of the Jōdō Shinshū temples was to hold funeral services and memorial services at set intervals during the fifty years following death, and beyond that, for people considered special for having made significant contributions to the community. I recall that in the 1970s, temples also offered social and cultural activities for youth through the Young Buddhist Association (YBA), modeled on the Christian-sponsored YMCA and YWCA programs.

Dressed in kimono for a bon dance at a Buddhist temple in Ha‘ikū, Maui, in honor of the ancestors in Japan: the Kawaharada girls, my paternal aunts, Stella, Jean, Elaine, and Nancy, with their parents, Harumi and Makisō, c. 1950

According to Kotani, the first Japanese Christian minister in Hawai‘i gave up trying to convert Japanese workers and instead tried to get them merely to stop “drinking, gambling, and shiftlessness”

(54). One reason the workers preferred Buddhism to Christianity was that Buddhism was more tolerant of what many would consider normal human behavior among single males after working ten hour a day, six days a week in the fields or mills.

The prejudice against Christianity among the Japanese was historical and deep. The Tokugawa Shogunate which ruled Japan for over two centuries, from 1603 to 1868, banned Christianity and persecuted converts. Those suspected of secretly practicing the religion were forced to trample on icons of Jesus or Mary to prove they weren't Christian. Those who resisted were tortured or killed—boiled in hot springs or crucified.

3.41

The first Christian church for Japanese living outside of Japan was the Holy Cross Church, established in Hilo in 1892 by Jirō Okabe (1864–1925), a missionary brought to Honolulu in 1889 by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association to preach in Japanese and convert migrant workers. In 1890 he went to Hilo and started a congregation there.

The Holy Cross Church of Hilo, the first Christian church for Japanese living outside of Japan, was dismantled in 1968 and shipped to Meiji Mura Museum Park in Nagoya, Japan, where it was rebuilt as a historic relic of the Meiji Period.

In 1895, back in Honolulu, he armed himself and joined the Civilian Guard of the White planters. His service in the Guard turned the Japanese community against him, and he left Honolulu (Nakagawa and Reddington 47-48).

Takie Okumura (1865–1951) came to Honolulu in 1902 to convert Japanese workers. A samurai from Kōchi Prefecture, he converted to Christianity after Emperor Meiji lifted the ban on the religion. He describes his early efforts at proselytizing among the Issei in Hawai‘i, and the meager results:

> In November, 1902, I commenced my work in the eastern section of Honolulu under the auspices of the Hawaiian Board. Gradually by making calls and holding outdoor meetings, I was able to gather a fair-sized group of ten eager listeners, and to open a little shack in the corner of a Japanese camp on Kinau Street. With only 24 members Makiki Church was organized in April, 1904. (Okumura 20)

It was a struggle after that, which Okumura describes as the martyrdom of a Christian masochist:

> Another thing that helped me through all these years were the ridicule, sneers and vicious names heaped upon me. Perhaps, since the first company of Japanese came to Hawaii, no one has been more frightfully misunderstood, attacked, misrepresented and ridiculed than myself. During the past forty years, my ways of thinking and acting, my objectives and my plans, did not agree with the way of the masses of people. So I was cursed by men on the streets, and severely criticized by [Japanese-language] newspapers. (7)

When he retired in 1937, the Makiki Christian Church had only 799 members.

3.42

A note about Native Hawaiian religious tolerance, which contrasts sharply with the religious intolerance of White Christian missionaries in Hawai‘i and many Christians in America, and of many Japanese Buddhists and Shintoists: Lili‘uokalani (1838–1917), who became

Queen in 1891 and was deposed by White insurrectionists in 1893, was a Presbyterian who attended Kawaiha'o Church in Honolulu, where she played the organ and led the choir. Later in life, she attended the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew (an Episcopal church). However, she was also open-minded. In 1901, she was invited to a Buddhist service by Native philanthropist and Buddhism convert Mary Elizabeth Mikahala Robinson Foster (1844–1930), who in 1899, donated land to establish a Jōdo Shinshū temple in Nu'uanu, near her home. Foster's home included what is Foster Botanical Garden today, which Foster bequeathed to the City of Honolulu.

In December 1899, Bishop Hoji Satomi and his nephew Rev. Yemyo Imamura, supported by donations from Mary Foster, completed the first Honolulu Jōdo Shinshū temple on Fort Lane (near the current site of the YMCA at Pali Highway and Vineyard Boulevard).

The Queen attended the 1901 worship service to which her friend Foster invited her and found the service, in honor of Jōdo Shinshū founder Shinran (1192-1333), deeply spiritual. Over a century after the Queen's attendance at the service, Bishop Eric Matsumoto recalled the significance of her attendance:

> It was a challenging time for Buddhists when Buddhism was not yet fully accepted in the Islands. Thus the Queen's visit was a significant historical event in our 127-year history in Hawaii. It made the Buddhist religion acceptable in the eyes of many people. Her visit to Honpa Hongwanji made headlines here at home and throughout the world. Her willingness to visit a

> Buddhist temple, I surmise, was an expression of who she was. In her own words, “I was a studious girl: and the acquisition of knowledge has been a passion with me during my whole life….” I believe it was an expression of her openness, genuine quest for knowledge, courage to help others, and willingness to embrace others. (“A Tribute to Queen Lili‘uokalani on the Occasion of Her 100th Memorial Service, held at Honpa Hongwanji Hilo Betsuin” on October 30, 2016. The Queen passed away on November 11, 1917.)

3.43

In “Ideological Images: U.S. Nationalism in Japanese Settler Photographs” (included by Fujikane and Okumura in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*), Asian Settlers Club member Eiko Kosasa asserts falsely that after Pearl Harbor, the Issei and Nisei “even closed their temples to signify their loyalty to the United States,” adding, “The Japanese, by this time, were on their way to becoming American colonialists, educated to think of themselves as ‘immigrants’” (217.)

Contrary to what Kosasa claims, when war broke out, the Issei didn’t close their temples to “signify their loyalty to the United States.” They were prevented from holding services by the US government, which arrested and imprisoned the priests and restricted Buddhist gatherings, citing “national security.” The Issei weren’t “on their way to becoming assimilated ”on their way to becoming American colonialists” and couldn’t have been “educated to think of themselves as ‘immigrants’” because they went to school in Japan, not America. Even after the US granted the Issei the right to become naturalized citizens in 1952, the Issei, for the most part, remained citizens of Japan. It’s the assimilated members of the Asian Settlers Club who have been brainwashed in American schools and universities into viewing their ancestors as American immigrants and settlers.

A little basic research would have revealed to Kosasa what happened to Buddhist temples when war broke out. The website of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawai‘i describes the day of the Pearl Harbor attack:

> World War II totally disrupted Buddhist activities in Hawaii. On December 7, 1941, the Buddhist community was busily

> preparing for Bodhi Day services at various temples. [Bodhi Day commemorates the day of Buddha's Enlightenment, December 8.] The next day the temples were closed, and the Buddhist ministers were interned. Labeled "potentially dangerous enemy aliens," most Buddhist clergy, language school teachers, community leaders, businessmen[,] doctors, anyone who had been identified as possible enemies of the United States, were rounded up to be taken away to detention camps, passing through the assembly center at Sand Island on O'ahu.

The Honpa Hongwanji website also describes what happened after the war: the Buddhist ministers "began to return from the concentration camps and immediately set about restoring the neglected temple buildings as well as rebuilding the congregations."

My grandparents remained devout Buddhist all their lives; their funeral services were held at Buddhist temples. All of their children

Hilo Honpa Honganji today. My mother's parents and family worshiped here. The unusual-looking building was "an eclectic blend of Spanish Baroque, [East] Indian, and Japanese elements," designed in 1926 by Big Island-born Charles Kohara, of Japanese ancestry, who "gained building experience as a plantation carpenter and was taught drafting by a Chinese engineer." (Hibbard).

who had funeral services had them at Honpa Honganji temples, except for my mom, who became a Christian during the war after her father was imprisoned by the US government; and her younger brother, who married a Christian of Japanese ancestry.

3.44

In "The Forgotten Internment of Japanese Americans in Hawaii: A Dark Chapter in the History of Religious Persecution," Duncan Ryūken Williams, Director of the Shinso Ito Center for Japanese Religions and Culture at the University of Southern California, describes in greater detail than the Honpa Hongwanji Mission website what happened to temples and shrines in Hawai'i during the war. The US military didn't shut down the temples and shrines because that was unconstitutional; however it arrested and imprisoned all the Issei priests as enemy aliens and severely restricted Buddhist worship services. Both the arrests and the restrictions were also unconstitutional, but permitted under martial law:

> … during the first several years of the war, Buddhists and Shintoists ... had to petition the Army's G-2 intelligence division for permission, most often denied, to meet at their temples and shrines. Several Shinto shrines, such as the Izumo Taisha shrine in Honolulu, were simply confiscated and declared "gifts" to the city and county of Honolulu. [After post-war litigation by the shrine's supporters, the courts ordered the shrine and its land returned to the Izumo Taishā congregation in 1962, and the shrine continues to hold services and events today.] On the island of Kauai, the Military Governor's Office coordinated the closure of the island's Japanese-language schools with the dissolution of Buddhist temples. Ultimately, 13 of the island's 19 Buddhist temples were eliminated.

Williams also reports that one White Buddhist priest, Rev. Ernest Hunt, was among the few priests allowed to hold services. Hunt carried a butsudan (portable altar) on his back to hold services in remote plantation communities.

Some of the temples were vandalized or set on fire:

> In the first months after Pearl Harbor, Buddhist statuary

> and temples on the islands suffered a rash of attacks. White American soldiers vandalized the stone bodhisattva Jizō statues in Wahiawa and Kawailoa. Another Jizō statue, installed outside of Ryūsenji Temple, was thrown into the river. Soldiers also used the Buddhist statue at Kaahapai for target practice.
>
> Anti-Buddhist violence also came in the form of arson, which struck the Papaikou Hongwanji Mission on the Big Island and Ewa Hongwanji Mission on Oahu. In another suspected arson case, the Pahala Hongwanji on the Big Island burned down. Temple members managed to run into the main hall just in time to save the Buddha statue and altar accessories. … After the temple burned, local Buddhist families asked the plantation manager if a plantation building could be used to house a Buddhist Sunday School for the children. He told them, "There is no need to have two Sunday Schools. The Christian Sunday School should be enough."....
>
> Many of the temples seized by the military were vandalized. The Jōdo Buddhist temple on Makiki Street in Honolulu, which was converted into an infantry battalion headquarters, was ransacked, and the Hilo Hongwanji Temple [where my mom's family worshiped] was desecrated and looted by soldiers. Although the theft of the temple's equipment was reported to the authorities, no compensation was made. And when a white soldier tried to steal the Kishimonjin statue at the Nichiren Mission of Hawaii, a devout laywoman "frantically shouted" at the soldier and chased him away, and then began guarding the temple at night to protect it.

Williams reports that some "patriotic" Nisei leaders, sucking up to Whites, "proposed to the authorities that Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, which they regarded as hubs of a 'foreign' religion, be shut down until after the war." Takie Okumura of the Makiki Christian Church and his son Umetarō tried to take advantage of the war to convert Buddhists to Christianity:

> According to Rev. Hunt, the Okumuras even threatened individual Buddhists by putting "pressure on the Buddhist youth with implied threats of the concentration camps unless the children attend [Christian] church." Like the military authorities, these civilian groups encouraged Japanese

Americans to demonstrate their loyalty by attending Christian churches.

During my childhood, I wondered why the Nisei, including my parents and uncles and aunts, referred to Buddhist temples as "churches." Apparently, it was a legacy of World War II, an attempt by the Nisei to suggest to the US government that Buddhist places of worship were "churches" like Christian places of worship and shouldn't be considered a threat to America. I prefer "temples."

3.45

The Nisei, Americanized by schools, were somewhat more open to Christianity than the Issei, particularly during the pro-patriotism, anti-Jap era before, during, and after World War II. After the priest of the Hilo Honpa Honganji where my mom's family worshiped was arrested and imprisoned, and the temple was desecrated and looted, and stopped services during the war, Mom, a junior at Hilo High when the war broke out, joined some of her Nisei friends in forming a Christian youth group at the Holy Cross Church in Hilo. (About the Holy Cross Church in Hilo, the first Christian church for Japanese living outside of Japan, see subsection 3.41 above.) The fellowship the high school juniors established undoubtedly helped them get through the war, especially Mom, whose father, like the head of the Honganji temple, was imprisoned by the US government as an enemy alien. Mom's youth group requested and got approval from the Military Governor's Office in Hilo to place a cross on Halai Hill for Easter, 1944, and despite a wartime black-out order, the Military Governor approved the lighting of the cross at night. Easter represented hope for Mom; she wrote in a high school essay, "Easter means Life, and therefore the flowers awakening in Spring mean new life after the long, dark winter."

After the war, when I was in elementary school in the late 1950s, Mom introduced her three children to Christianity by taking us to Sunday School at a Methodist church, where she started teaching Sunday School, as she had at the Hilo Holy Cross Church during her last two years of high school. In the 1990s, when I was writing about our life together, I asked her why she took us to church. She said she wanted to "expose" us to Christianity, in case we might take an interest in it. None of her three children, however, was interested. She probably felt that it would be good for her children to be aware of what the

majority of Americans believed and how they worshiped. It turned out to be useful knowledge that later helped me understand Western literature and culture.

In my talk with Mom, I also asked her if she believed in God. Surprisingly, she said no, so I wasn't sure what to make of her Christianity. In my talk with Mom, I also asked her if she believed in God. Surprisingly, she said no, so I wasn't sure what to make of her Christianity. Her conversion seemed to be more social, than religious. I had a feeling her joining her friends in a Christian youth group had to do with the shock and anxiety she felt after her father, whom she revered, was arrested by the US government in 1942 and disappeared for four years.

Dad never came to church with us. When the weather was good on Sundays, he went fishing out of Kāne'ohe Bay. He brought home moano, uhu, aku, ahi, mahimahi, onaga, and Kona crab to feed his family and friends. When my brother and I were in elementary school, he began taking us out on his boat to fish with him.

After Dad passed away in 1970, Mom bought a butsudan (portable Buddhist altar) for her living room and kept his photo and a photo of her father on it, along with their ihai (wooden memorial tablets with their posthumous Buddhist names); the spirits of the deceased are thought to reside in the ihai. In 1978, Mom added her mother's photo and ihai, then as each of her five siblings passed away, their photos. The altar was equipped with a small incense censer; a small bowl-like bell on a pad, with a small stick wrapped in embroidered silk to strike the bell; and her jizu, or prayer beads. She put flowers on the altar regularly and said prayers for her family every night before bed. When she got too old to go shopping, she had me buy her flowers for the altar, and when she passed away, left the altar in her apartment for me to take care of. Eventually, I decided to strike the bell six times at night, for my parents and four grandparents. The fading sound of the bell reminds me of their brief passage through jōkuse jindo (濁世塵土, "this corrupt and impure world"); and that they had vanished forever.

While Mom never practiced Christianity at home and stopped going to church, at the end of her life, she asked my brother to arrange her memorial service at Kawaiha'o Church in Honolulu; she wanted a Christian rather than a Buddhist service. Kawaiha'o Church was the headquarters of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association that had recruited Jirō Okabe, who founded the Holy Cross Church in Hilo, where Mom became a Christian and taught Sunday School.

3.46

The main vehicle of the Settler State for assimilating and Americanizing the children of the Issei was the public education system. It was too late to try to assimilate the Issei, who were adults and not subject to the Territory's compulsory education.

The Republic of White Oligarchs, looking ahead to annexation to the US, mandated English-only instruction in the public schools in 1896, as a part of the colonial apparatus to Americanize the children of Natives and migrant workers; it also raised the compulsory attendance age to fifteen (normally, the eighth grade); high school was optional (Fuchs 33). In 1901, the first Native-dominated Territorial legislature proposed a bill requiring bilingual education in both Hawaiian and English in all public and private schools. However, the legislature didn't pass the bill (Williams, "Race, Power, and the Dilemma of Democracy" 31-32).

The first high school in Hawai'i, Honolulu High, was established in 1895. It was originally an English day-school that opened in 1865. In 1907, the US Territory moved the school to a new location and renamed it William McKinley High after the President who annexed Hawai'i in 1898 (Nakamura "McKinley High School"; see subsection 3.31 above for the early history of public education in Hawai'i.)

3.47

Compulsory education to age fifteen continued when Hawai'i became a US Territory. According to Fuchs, in 1912, one White employer ("who probably came close to expressing true feelings of many") referred to the American-born Nisei as "alien children" and opined that they shouldn't receive the compulsory tax-funded education that the children of Whites and Hawaiians received, even though the Issei paid taxes to support the schools. (269; Fuchs cites as his source a July 1912 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* article.)

The US Census Bureau reported that in 1920 in Hawai'i, 48,825, or 63% of children and adolescents 5 to 20 years old were attending school (*Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, "Table 7. School Attendance, For the Territory and for Hilo and Honolulu: 1930 and 1920" 54–55). Of the 48,825 students, the Nisei were the largest ethnic group, making up 41% of the total, followed by students of Native, Portuguese, and Chinese ancestries:

- 19,856 Nisei (41% of the total)
- 10,492 Natives, unmixed and mixed (21% of the total)
- 7,156 of Portuguese ancestry (15%)
- 4,919 of Chinese ancestry (10%)

By 1930, there were 82,428 children and adolescents, 5 to 20 years old, attending school (65% of the age group), an increase of 33,603 students in a decade. Of the 82,428 students,

- 40,717 were Nisei (49%), up 20,861 since 1920;
- 13,882 were Natives, unmixed and mixed (17%), up 3,190;
- 9,684 were of Chinese ancestry (9%), up 2,419;
- 7,368 were of Portuguese ancestry (9%), up 212;
- 5,558 were Caucasians (7%), up 3,032;
- 3,989 were of Filipino ancestry (5%), up 2,783.

In 1930, the percentages of children and adolescents (5 to 20 years old) who were attending school from each ethnic group were the following, starting with the highest:

- 77.9% of 5 to 20 years olds of Korean ancestry
- 75.8% of 5 to 20 years olds of Chinese ancestry
- 71.5% of 5 to 20 years olds of Japanese ancestry
- 71.2% of mixed Caucasian-Hawaiian 5 to 20 years olds
- 70.4% of mixed Asiatic-Hawaiian 5 to 20 years olds
- 64% of 5 to 20 years olds of Portuguese ancestry
- 60.3% of Native 5 to 20 years olds
- 53.7% of Caucasian 5 to 20 years olds
- 32.5% of 5 to 20 years olds of Filipino ancestry

3.48

During the 1920s and 30s, when high school education was optional, the largest number of students attending the first high school in Honolulu, McKinley High School, were Nisei (43%of the student body in 1929). The school was nicknamed "Tōkyō High," even though the Nisei were born and raised in Hawai'i, not Japan.

White parents whose children went to public schools wanted their children segregated, purportedly so that their children wouldn't be held back academically by Non-white classmates who couldn't speak and

write in “proper” English. In 1920, there were only 1,222 White students out of 41,350 in the public schools (Fuchs 275). Over half of the 2,526 Whites attending school in 1920 were in private schools, like Punahou, where the enrollment was predominantly White. To accommodate the White parents who wanted their children segregated, the Department of Public Instruction opened English Standard schools. Only children who could prove that they could communicate in Standard English by passing a proficiency test were admitted to the schools. Not surprisingly, most of the Nisei, whose parents were working class and spoke mainly Japanese or pidgin English at home, didn’t pass the proficiency test.

The first English Standard school, Lincoln Elementary, opened in Honolulu in 1924, and as its students advanced, an intermediate school, then a high school were added. The high school was established at a temporary site in 1930; a new campus, a mile from Tōkyō High, opened in 1932. The new school was named after President T. Roosevelt, who restricted Japanese immigration to the US in 1907–1908. English Standard schools were also opened on the other islands, up to high school in Hilo, and elementary schools on Maui and Kaua‘i.

The majority of students in English Standard schools were White. In 1926, two years after opening, Lincoln Elementary School had 990 students, of which 683, or 69%, were White; they were joined by 126 Hawaiians (13%), 123 Mixed Hawaiians (12%), 30 of Chinese ancestry (3%), and 28 of Japanese ancestry (3%) (Fuchs 277). Over the next decade, the percentage of students of Asian ancestry (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) gradually increased at the schools. By 1929, 20% of the students at Roosevelt High were of Asian ancestry (Fuchs 277).

“Education in Hawai‘i: An annotated chronology” reports that in 1941, “There were no [Nisei] teachers at either Roosevelt or McKinley.” (The chronology, posted anonymously at Laulima, a University of Hawai‘i System website, isn’t annotated, but notes that most of the historical information came from Fuchs.) According to a “rumor” that Kirk-Kuwaye reports, “Haole teachers were preferred because of their English language skills, because they were US citizens, because they, as White Americans, could best model American attitudes and values to instill greater levels of patriotism among their students.” If the purpose of the English Standard schools was to allow students who already spoke White English to hear only White English spoken, then White teachers had to be assigned to teach in them.

After Pearl Harbor, White parents were fearful their children might

be injured or killed in another Jap attack. During World War II, 2,000 White students were "withdrawn from the public schools of Hawai‘i, and many were sent to the mainland for schooling" (Fuchs 279). After the war, in 1947, the Department of Public Instruction abandoned the English Standard schools since there were more students of Japanese ancestry than White students in them, and the schools no longer served the purpose of segregating Whites from Japs.

Despite the handicap of attending pidgin-English speaking schools, the Nisei students who attended Tōkyō High did okay in their careers; with effort, one apparently could get a solid education there. Graduates included US Senator Dan Inouye; the first Governor of Japanese ancestry George Ariyoshi; the first UH President of the Japanese ancestry Fujio Matsuda; and State Supreme Court justices (Nakamura "McKinley High School"). The firsts may have resulted from the fact that the Nisei graduates of the English Standard Schools, supposedly the "best and brightest" in Hawai‘i, went to college on the continent, perhaps married Whites, and weren't interested in coming back to Hawai‘i to pursue careers with and live among pidgin-speaking local yokels.

3.49

The Issei complied with the compulsory education law and sent their children to public schools to learn English and become Americanized. However, they also wanted their children to learn to speak, read, and write Japanese. According to Agnes Niyekawa-Howard of the UH College of Education, by 1920, the Issei community had established over 125 Japanese language schools, with 20,196 students, or 98 percent of the school-age children; by 1931, there were 175 language schools with 39,144 students. Many of the schools were housed at Buddhist temples, with the priests serving as instructors ("History of the Japanese Language School" 10). The lessons also included moral education, to instill in the students Japanese values like filial piety.

My grandparents enrolled all their children in Japanese language school, paying tuition and also making donations and fund-raising for the schools. Both my parents could speak and understand Japanese, although they spoke to their children only in English.

After World War I ended in 1918, an English-only movement gained momentum in the Settler State of America, under the banner of "one nation, one flag, one language" (Niyekawa-Howard 9). The

Territorial legislature tried to shut down the Japanese language schools as “un-American.” The US courts ruled, however, that language schools were protected by the Constitution and couldn’t be shut down, so the legislature tried to regulate them. In 1923, supporters of the Japanese schools filed a lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of some of the regulations. In 1926, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in favor of the schools, affirming the right of children of migrant workers, who were US citizens, to be taught according to their parents’ wishes. The ruling noted, “You cannot make good citizens by oppression or by a denial of constitutional rights” (US Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, “Farrington, Territorial Governor, et al. v. T. Tokushige et al.”) In 1927, the Supreme Court affirmed the Ninth Circuit Court ruling.

But the Japanese schools were only afterschool programs and didn’t substantially obstruct or hinder the Americanization of the Nisei. The schools also didn’t do what the late nineteenth-century Japanese intellectuals who advocated Japanese settler colonialism wanted such schools to do, which was to turn the children of alien workers into patriots loyal to the Emperor and to work to make Hawai‘i a Japanese colony. In fact, to appease White critics who accused the Japanese schools of teaching the children to become agents of the Emperor, the language schools prohibited textbooks that taught the children “un-American” values and set as one of their goals “making good American citizens” (Niyekawa-Howard 11).

Mostly of peasant background, the Issei weren’t nationalists or patriots who wanted their children to live and work for the glorification of an Emperor backed by former samurai. The Issei were content with encouraging their children to pursue wealth and happiness for themselves, their families, while contributing to their community.

During World War II, the US government shut down the Japanese language schools. After the war, some of them reopened. When my brother and I were in elementary school in the mid-1950s, Mom enrolled us in a Japanese school at the Higashi Honganji, a Buddhist temple on Kea‘āhala Road in Kāne‘ohe, with the hope that we would learn our ancestral language, and one day be able to converse with our grandparents. The temple school was on the walk home from Ben Parker Elementary, so after school, we stopped for an hour of language lessons. We chanted the Japanese syllabary (“あ-い-う-え-お [“a-i-u-e-o”], か-き-く-け-こ” [“ka-ki-ku-ke-ko”], etc.), learned to write hiragana and katakana, and sing children’s song like “Chi-chi-pa-pa,” about a school of sparrows learning to sing. As in the song, the language

lessons involved repetition: “Mada mada ikenai, ... mō ichido, isho ni” (“It’s still not good, ... once more, all together”). However, with our parents speaking to us only in English and without a Japanese-speaking community around us in our neighborhood, we lost interest in learning Japanese after a few months, so Mom let us stop attending the classes. After school at Ben Parker, we came home to do our homework, then went outside to play with the pidgin-speaking neighborhood kids until dinnertime.

3.50

Whatever schools their children attended, the Issei encouraged them to study hard. The Issei believed that education was a path to a better life and a higher social status. Traditionally, scholars were near the top of the Confucian social pyramid of feudal Japan; merchants and businessmen like my grandfathers, who dealt with money, were at the bottom. One reason that the Issei stayed to work and raise families in Hawai‘i was that public education, which their taxes helped pay for, was “free” for all of their children, up to high school. (Fuchs points out that underfunded public schools “leaned heavily upon a system of fees for books, library use, courses in homemaking, clothing and sewing, typing, music, and kindergartens” [297].)

Of course, White plantation owners viewed public high school education as a waste of their taxes. They needed the children of their laborers and servants to follow in the footsteps of their parents and remain laborers and servants, so they could continue to be exploited (Fuchs 279–281). Parents who were still in low wage jobs on the plantations accommodated the owners because older children had to work to help support the family rather than attend high school or college; but other parents, like my grandparents, who found higher paying jobs or started businesses after leaving the plantations, supported their children through high school and also saved a part of their incomes to send some or all of their children to college.

A family’s business and property were traditionally passed on to the oldest son, but if the family could afford it, a college education might be provided to every child. The aliens also knew that businesses could fail, and property could be taken away by politicians of the Settler State, just as farmers lost their family lands in Japan when they couldn’t pay the land tax. Education, on the other hand, was something that no one could take from their children, and their children could take it with

them wherever they decided to go in life.

3.51

Home: when you are far away, you reminisce
and sing sadly

ふるさとは遠きにありて思ふもの
そして悲しくうたふもの

—Saisei Muro (1889-1962)

The Issei lived between two worlds: Japan, where they were born and raised and where their parents and siblings lived; and Hawai‘i, where they had established businesses or had jobs to support families, and where their children, born as US citizens, were being Americanized.

After two decades in Hilo, my maternal grandfather was too busy operating and expanding his store to return to his Hiroshima hometown of Gōnomura, but in 1926, he sent his younger brother for a visit home, with his oldest daughter, four-years-old at the time, to arrange the erection of a memorial stone in the family cemetery, inscribed with his name and the names of his two younger brothers, the one who came to Hawai‘i a year after him, and their younger brother, who stayed with

Grandpa’s memorial stone in Gōnomura, Hiroshima: “Generation after generation will gather here.”

the family in Gōnomura. Also inscribed on the stone was the phrase "Generation after generation shall gather here."

Two years after the US banned Japanese immigration in 1924, Grandpa may have felt insecure about his alien residency in America, and anticipated that one day he would return to his hometown with his children, or at least his oldest son and oldest daughter; and that he and his descendants would be buried in Gōnomura with the ancestors.

While many of the aliens must have dreamed, as Grandpa did, of returning to the homeland, wars during the first half of the twentieth century made that difficult. Although Japan fought on the side of America and its allies in World War I (1914-1918), by the 1930s, unhappy with the world order established after World War I, the militarists in Japan took a hostile stance toward the West, and began implementing plans to take over the West's colonial empire in Asia.

The Japanese who advocated for peaceful coexistence and trade, on the other hand, conceived of a new role for emigrants and their children: they might help to create a bridge of good will between Japan and the countries where they were resided. My paternal grandfather, who fundraised to support Japanese language schools on Maui, received a letter dated October 13, Shōwa 13 (1938) from Hidejiro Nagata, the chairman of the Empire Education Board, thanking him for helping to educate the descendants living abroad. Nagata wrote to him and other supporters of the Japanese language schools that the overseas Japanese "... should become loyal and excellent citizens of these countries; work diligently and industriously for their new countries; and help promote a good relationship between the countries where they were citizens and their ancestral homeland." The well-intentioned suggestion to improve international relationships, of course, didn't have much of an effect on the deteriorating relationship between Japan and America.

3.52

After the First Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, whenever the militarists gained the upper hand in the Japanese government, Japan went to war. It battled Russia in 1904-1905 over control of Manchuria and Korea and their mineral resources. In a decisive naval battle in the Tsushima Strait, the Japanese navy destroyed half the fleet that Russia sent from the Baltic Sea to reinforce the Russian fleet in Asia. When the war ended, Russia ceded the southern half of Sakhalin Island to Japan. Russia also withdrew its forces from Korea and Manchuria, agreeing to

Japan's claim that they belong to Japan's "sphere of influence." From 1910–1945, Japan occupied Korea.

In 1914-1918, Japan fought in World War I on the side of Britain, Russia, France, and America, against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. British and Japanese forces jointly attacked the German naval base in Tsingtao, a Chinese port city in Shangdong Province. Japan also occupied German island colonies in the Pacific. In 1918, US President Woodrow Wilson asked Japan to send 7,000 troops to join an international coalition in Siberia to fend off Russia. Japan eventually sent 72,000 troops there in hopes of creating a puppet Siberian state as a buffer against Russia and as a source of coal, oil, and metal ores. Japan withdrew from its costly occupation in 1922, when it was likely that the Communist government in Russia would gain control of Siberia.

With the Peace Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Japan acquired the German rights to China's Shandong Province and its port of Tsingtao. Also, under the so-called "South Seas Mandate," Japan took control of German Pacific island colonies—the Marshall Islands, the Carolines, the Marianas, and the Palau Islands. The small Pacific islands lacked the industrial resources that Japan needed, but Japan recognized their strategic value for defense. In a war with the US, the islands could be used as bases to defend the homeland and to cut the US off from reinforcing or resupplying its military bases in its territories of Guam and the Philippines.

In 1931, Japan invaded Manchuria and set up a puppet state, which it controlled until 1945. Its aggression led in 1937 to a second war with China. Japan attacked and captured major Chinese ports and cities, including Peking, Shanghai, and Nanking. In 1940, in response to Japan's attack on China, US President F.D. Roosevelt seized Japanese assets in the US and embargoed exports of oil and scrap iron. The British and Dutch followed America's lead and embargoed oil exports to Japan from their colonies in Southeast Asia. Japan responded in July 1941 by occupying French Indo-China, with permission from the Vichy government of Nazi-occupied France.

Three years before Japan's invasion of China in 1937, Grandpa Kuwahara had sent his first son to Tōkyō for college in 1934. With political tensions between America and Japan growing, his son returned to Hilo in 1939. Grandpa sent his oldest daughter to Hiroshima Women's College in 1939 to prepare her for marriage (the traditional path for women in Japan). In 1940, the US placed an embargo on oil

and scrap iron exports to Japan, then froze Japanese assets in the US, making it likely that a war would break out, so his daughter returned to Hilo in the summer of 1941.

3.53

By the end of 1941, Japan was ready to invade and occupy the rest of Southeast Asia to create what it called, euphemistically, the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. In 1941, Japan attacked the US Pacific fleet anchored in Pearl Harbor to disable or destroy it, so the ships couldn't interfere with the invasion of Southeast Asia scheduled to start on the same day as the Pearl Harbor attack. The Japanese destroyed or damaged nineteen American ships, including eight battleships, and 188 aircraft; 2,335 US naval personnel and 68 civilians were killed.

That same day (December 8 in Asia), Japan invaded the British colonies of Malaya, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and the US Territories of the Philippines and Guam. Following these attacks, Japan invaded the Kingdom of Thailand, and in January, 1942, the Dutch East Indies. (For a long view of this war, see "Perry to Pearl Harbor, 1853–1941: a Long, Sometimes Contentious Relationship that Ended in a War," in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962*.)

Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941

After the attack on Pearl Harbor, anti-Jap hysteria was rampant on the West Coast, stoked by racists like children's book author Dr. Zeuss, who published anti-Jap cartoons. In "Jap Alley": a scrawny, dorky-looking bird dressed up as Uncle Sam gets ready to whack a horde of Jap alley cats residing in America. The cartoon encouraged young White American children to view their Jap neighbors as the enemy.

In "Honorable 5th Column," a horde of West Coast Japs line up to get their packs of TNT to sabotage American military bases. The caption, "Waiting for the Signal From Home... ," refers to a man on the rooftop looking westward through a spyglass toward Japan for a sign from the Emperor to attack America.

The US government designated Military Exclusion Zones for national security on the West Coast, where most Issei and Nisei lived; 120,000 of them were expelled from their homes and forced into detention centers with only what they could carry, then required to sign oaths of loyalty to the US before they were allowed to scatter around the country in small groups to assimilate and disappear into the White population. Those who were too old to relocate, had no place to go, or refused to cooperate with the government unconstitutional program or to sign a loyalty oath under duress, remained incarcerated for most of the war, until the courts told the government that detaining resident aliens and citizens who weren't a national security threat was unconstitutional. (On the incarceration, see subsection 1.29 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected Idea' ....")

My dad's oldest sister was living in Los Angeles with her husband and their daughter when the war broke out; her younger sister arrived in LA in fall 1941 to attend UCLA. One of my mom's brothers was also in LA, in his third year at the University of Southern California. All of them ended up incarcerated in detention centers until they signed the

loyalty oath and found sponsors to help them relocate. My married aunt had her first-born son while in Gila River detention center in Arizona. Her younger sister found work in Detroit, a major production center for weaponry to use against Japan and Germany. Her married sister, brother-in-law, niece, and infant nephew followed her there.

After Mom's brother, sent to the Tule Lake detention center, signed the loyalty oath and relocated to the Midwest, he was drafted and sent to the US Military Intelligence Service (MIS) language school at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, to hone the Japanese he learned at the Hilo Japanese Language school before the war. He graduated from the MIS language training program and was assigned to translate Japanese documents in support of the US war effort against Japan.

In a portrait of the Mochida family heading to a US government detention center (see below), the children compassionately tagged, like luggage, so that if they got lost, they might be reunited with their parents. The children look a little glum and confused about being forced from their home by their government and military and sent to an unknown location. The two adults at either end of the back row, perhaps parents

Portrait of the Mochida family heading to a US government detention center for relocation (National Archives and Records Administration, public domain).

or grandparents, try to look cheerful, to persuade the children that "all is well." Everyone is well dressed in what might be their best clothes, as if they were going on a vacation. It wasn't as if they had to be well-dressed because the detention centers were located in remote mountains, deserts, and rural areas where few people would see them. They probably dressed in their best clothes because they were allowed to take only what they could wear or carry and didn't want to leave their best clothes behind.

3.54

During the war, about 2,000 Nisei were in Japan, by choice or brought or sent there by their parents. Some faced discrimination from Japanese who believed they were spies for America. One Nisei remembers that "even some of her relatives treated her poorly," recalling, "I don't know why one of my aunts, a blood relative, always treated me as if I had been her enemy and constantly bullied me in a condescending manner. She did not know me well because I was born in Hawai‘i" (Ogawa 104-105). The Nisei probably didn't know that because she was born in Hawai‘i, she was no longer considered Japanese by the Japanese.

Children complicated the decision for the Issei about when or whether to return to Japan: would it make sense for the Issei to take their Americanized children back to Japan where the children wouldn't fit into the rigid social order and face discrimination and harassment?

After the war, the US stripped Nisei in Japan of their US citizenship for "serving in the Japanese military, working for the Japanese government during the war, or voting in the national election" (Ogawa 125). Nine Nisei successfully petitioned to have their US citizenship restored (126).

3.55

After Pearl Harbor, President F.D. Roosevelt and some of his advisors, supported by some local idiots, wanted to expel the 138,000 residents of Japanese ancestry from their homes in Hawai‘i, and incarcerate them in detention centers, as was done on the West Coast. One plan was to build a detention center on Moloka‘i for all 138,000; another was to ship them to the detention centers being built on the continent to hold the West Coast Issei and Nisei.

Anti-Jap hysteria, however, was less extreme in Hawai‘i than on

the West Coast. The future first Democratic governor of Hawai‘i, John A. Burns, was head of the Honolulu Police department's Espionage Bureau, and he and Robert Shiver, the head of the FBI Honolulu Bureau, investigated the Japanese community for a couple of years before the Pearl Harbor attack, found no evidence of espionage or plots of sabotage, and after the Pearl Harbor attack, vouched for the loyalty of the Issei and Nisei community. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover advised President F.D. Roosevelt, probably based on Shiver's reports, that incarcerating all the residents of Japanese ancestry in Hawai‘i would be a waste of time and resources. Hawai‘i's Military Governor Delos Emmons also realized that incarcerating 138,000 residents of Japanese ancestry would siphon off vital resources from the war effort and severely hamper the local economy on which large numbers of US soldiers now in Hawai‘i depended. Emmons declined to implement President's proposal of mass incarceration of the Issei and Nisei.

In anticipation of a war between America and Japan, the Committee for Interracial Unity was established in Honolulu in December 1940; the leadership included Hung Wai Ching, Atherton YMCA Secretary, of Chinese ancestry; Shigeo Yoshida, a public school teacher and administrator of Japanese ancestry; and White YMCA leader Charles Loomis. They formulated plans for promoting and maintaining the unity of Hawai‘i's multiethnic community should war break out. After Pearl Harbor, the three men served on a committee in the Morale Section of the Office of the Military Governor to "work toward the maintenance of a 'unified and cooperative community'" (Nakamura, "Morale Committees"). No Hawaiian leader was appointed to the committee, but a couple of decades before the war, part-Hawaiian Mayor John Wilson voiced his support for the Nisei when they were being demonized by the "Fear the Jap Takeover" rhetoric of White and Hawaiian demagogues. In 1922, Wilson told a local Japanese newspaper:

> I am sure that the Japanese voters will not band themselves together to control the political machinery of this territory [for Japan]. ... These young Japanese are educated in our schools, disciplined in American manners and adopt American customs .... I have full confidence in my American brothers. ... I have no doubt that they will become good American Citizens (Krauss, *Johnny Wilson: First Hawaiian Democrat* 185; for Mayor Wilson's story, see subsection 3.22 above.).

3.56

By November 25, 1941, the US knew the Japanese were likely to attack unexpectedly, but wasn't sure what the target would be or when or from where the attack would come (Prange, *At Dawn We Slept* 371). Earlier that month, a Japanese strike force, including six aircraft carriers and two battleships, left from various Japanese ports to rendezvous at Hitokappu Bay in Etorofu, a remote island northeast of Hokkaidō, in what is now called the Kurile Islands. US military intelligence, tracking Japanese ships by their radio calls, lost track of the ships that formed the strike force when the ships stopped communicating by radio. On November 26, the fleet sailed into the North Pacific to avoid shipping traffic and made a 3,000 miles voyage across open ocean to a rendezvous point north of O'ahu on December 3. The fleet then positioned itself around 200 miles north of Pearl Harbor to launch an aerial assault at dawn on December 7.

The US military in Hawai'i didn't have enough planes to surveil the ocean around Hawai'i and concentrated its surveillance flights to the west and south since the North Pacific was considered too stormy in winter to be a likely route for a Japanese attack fleet. The early winter seas, however, were calm and foggy when the Japanese fleet arrived. While anticipating an attack, the Navy didn't change any of the routines of its ship movements to confuse the enemy, or go on 24-hour alert, so, as Prange titled his book, "At Dawn We Slept." Had US military intelligence detected the Japanese attack fleet, it might have intercepted and destroyed it before it could attack Pearl Harbor or retreat to Japan or to another Pacific Islands base. Six months after the Pearl Harbor attack, in June 1942, when the Japanese fleet tried to capture the American base on Midway Atoll to extend its defensive perimeter around Japan, the US Navy knew where it was beforehand (having broken its communication code), set up an ambush, and sank four Japanese aircraft carriers.

One particularly silly post-Pearl Harbor rumor was that Japanese plantation workers cut arrows into the cane fields to point the Japanese pilots flying overhead toward the direction of Pearl Harbor. Little did the local idiots know that the pilots didn't need make-shift arrows cut into cane fields to find Pearl Harbor. The attack was meticulously planned several months earlier in Japan, and the pilots knew where Pearl Harbor was and what it looked like because they were trained with relief maps of O'ahu, probably based on topographical maps

published by the US Geological Service in the 1920s. The trainers also used mock-ups of all the military installations on the island (Prange 386). The model of Pearl Harbor included miniatures of each US fleet unit, in the locations reported regularly to Tōkyō by a Japanese naval officer, Takeo Yoshikawa, assigned under an alias to the Japanese consulate in Honolulu. Yoshikawa worked alone to avoid detection and prevent betrayal by anyone, including the Issei and Nisei, whom he felt couldn't be trusted (Yoshikawa, *Japan's Spy at Pearl Harbor* 77). His last encrypted telegram, received in Tōkyō six hours before the attack on December 7, reported on the US ships that had left and ships that were still in the harbor (137).

3.57

Not everyone of Japanese ancestry in Hawai'i escaped wartime imprisonment; the US government needed some scapegoats to blame for the debacle at Pearl Harbor.

After the attack, the military police arrested 2,270 Japs, some Nisei, but mainly Issei community leaders who were on a list of possible "enemy aliens" that the FBI had compiled before the war. Since no espionage or plots of sabotage were found, the list included only those who might be suspected of being agents of the Emperor—Buddhist and Shintō priests, Japanese school teachers, journalists and businessmen who helped organize the Issei workers to strike against White plantation owners; and the literate who assisted illiterate plantation workers to fill out paperwork for the Japanese consulate (e.g., registrations of births or renunciations of Japanese citizenship).

Businessmen like my Hilo grandfather, who imported goods from Japan, were also on the list and arrested. So were leaders of the fishing industry, based on rumors that their fishing boats used their radios to communicate with Jap submarines, allegedly passing on espionage information; and that the sampans were going to be used to aid a Jap invasion. After the Pearl Harbor attack, US airplanes strafed sampans of Japanese fishermen, killing six Issei.

During the war, the Japanese sampans were confiscated by the US military and "converted to armed inshore patrol crafts for the Navy because they were suitable for the open ocean" (Ogawa, *Sea of Opportunity* 101). Everyone of Japanese ancestry was banned from fishing. The Japanese fishermen and their families were also banned from living along the coastlines of Hawai'i.

Ogawa writes, “In 1942, the annual yield of deep-sea fish in Hawai‘i dropped to 143,000 pounds, only about 1 percent of the yield of 13,428,000 pounds just before the war” (106). Arthur H. Rice, Jr., fishing superintendent of Hawaiian Tuna Packers, led the fight to get the industry going again; others wanted fishermen to continue fishing, so that residents could eat fresh fish. Due to Rice’s advocacy, “trap fishing and shore fishing was initiated off the coast of O‘ahu, and some deep-sea boats were permitted to operate during the daytime only” (Ogawa 108). By 1943, “fresh fish landings were approximately 10 percent of prewar figures” (111), and “[i]t was not until May 30, 1945,” toward the end of the war, that the US Navy “issued an order to remove many of the restrictions on fishing in the territory” (113).

3.58

After the US military rounded up those on its lists of “enemy aliens,” it set up civilian boards to confirm the FBI designation at mock hearings. (Military courts had no jurisdiction over civilians.) The verdicts were predetermined to give US President Roosevelt legal cover for imprisoning the arrestees.

My dad’s father spent seven months in the Wailuku County Jail on Maui. He was arrested because of his fundraising work for Japanese language schools and for helping plantation workers with paperwork for the Japanese consulate. He was released only after the manager of the pineapple cannery across from his restaurant vouched for his loyalty. The manager needed the restaurant to stay open to feed his workers. After his release, Grandpa had to report his activities to the manager. (Subsection 3.22 above describes the establishment of Grandpa’s restaurant across from the cannery.)

My mom’s father wasn’t as fortunate. After his arrest and mock hearing, he was shipped to the continent and imprisoned for four years, first in a temporary US Army prison at Camp Livingston, Louisiana; then in an Immigration and Naturalization Service prison established at Fort Missoula, Montana; then in an INS prison in Santa Fe, New Mexico. His wife and children didn’t know where he was because the locations of the prisons were kept secret. When I asked Mom where her father was during the four years, she said she thought he was somewhere in Idaho. She didn’t find out where her father was held until one of her cousin’s children, an INS lawyer, obtained the declassified INS files on Grandpa, and sent them to us.

The Santa Fe INS Prison for Enemy Aliens, c. 1945

In 1942, Grandpa requested repatriation to Japan, so he could return there to find employment to support his family, but the US government never acted on his request, perhaps because he wasn't important enough to the Japanese government to trade for one of the American prisoners in Japan. His second son, serving in the US Army in Hawai‘i, was given permission to apply for his parole, which was granted in 1944 by the Military Governor of Hawai‘i. After parole, Grandpa rescinded his repatriation request and asked to be returned to Hilo. However, the US

Issei prisoners holding a Buddhist funeral service at the Santa Fe INS Prison. Grandpa is in the back row, fifth from the right.

Army wouldn't allow paroled "enemy aliens" to return to Hawai‘i until the war ended. With nowhere to go on the continent, Grandpa waited out the war in prison.

Near the end of the war, Louis Vinz, an inspector for the INS Alien Control Unit, reviewed Grandpa's application for returning to Hawai‘i and concluded, "This applicant[']s attitude during internment has been satisfactory, he bears no resentment toward the US for having been interned and he expresses loyalty to the US that seems sincere." Vinz checked the box "The application has outstanding merit." (For the details of Grandpa's arrest, interrogation, and imprisonment, see "Pearl Harbor Scapegoats, Part A: Arrests and Interrogations, 1941–1942" and "Pearl Harbor Scapegoats, Part B: Wartime Imprisonments, 1941–1945," in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962*.)

Matsujirō Ōtani, the largest fish dealer in the Territory, like Grandpa, was arrested on December 7 and imprisoned. The FBI picked Ōtani up as he was celebrating the opening of ‘A‘ala Market on the west side of downtown Honolulu. The market had just been restored after burning down in a fire, and was now "Hawai‘i's largest marketplace, with more than sixty tenants selling fresh and processed fish, vegetables, and many other items" (Ogawa 102). At Ōtani's mock hearing, Chinese-Hawaiian lawyer William Ha‘eha‘e Heen represented Ōtani. Heen had played a major role in the establishment of the market: "Heen, who helped negotiate the purchase of the Aala property, was named to executive positions in Otani's parent corporation and the Aala Market venture" (Chun, "Matsujirō Ōtani"). However, since the verdict was predetermined, Ōtani was "convicted" of being an "enemy alien." The US military alleged, without evidence, that his sampan fleet was somehow involved in the Pearl Harbor attack. Ōtani, like Grandpa, was imprisoned on the continent for the duration of the war.

Grandpa and Ōtani were among the 702 "enemy aliens" on ten ships that transported the Issei arrestees to the continent between February 1942 and December 1943; another 320 or so Nisei alleged to be loyal to the Emperor were held as prisoners at the US Army detention camp at Honouliuli, in a gulch west of Pearl Harbor, along with German Americans and Japanese prisoners of war captured in the Pacific (Sōga, *Life Behind Barbed Wire: the World War II Internment Memoirs of a Hawai‘i Issei* 239–253). In addition, more than 1,000 wives and dependent children of the Issei and Nisei arrestees were transported to the continent to join their husbands and fathers in prisons ("Untold Story")

When World War II broke out, the majority of Nisei in Hawai'i were at the crossroads of their young adulthood: one road led to the country of their parents, whose culture, religion, and language the Issei had tried to pass on to them; the other road led to the country where they were born as citizens and Americanized by public schools. They had heard and read White racist rhetoric all their lives about how they were loyal to the Emperor and unassimilable to the American Way of Life. Most, however, never envisioned going to Japan with their parents or on their own; if they did go there to settle, they would have been shunned and ridiculed by Japanese racists for being Americanized and unable to speak Japanese properly.

Thus, for most Nisei the choice was easy: pissed off at their White detractors in America, they would prove them wrong by supporting the US war effort, including, for males 18 years old and older, volunteering for service in the US Army or complying when they were drafted.

If the Nisei were as inventive as Fujikane or Jonathan Swift, they might have come up with a third alternative and declared a "Nisei Nation," magnetically levitated between Japan and the Settler State of America; living there, they wouldn't have to choose between the two countries at war or serve in the military of either one. However, instead of claiming to live in "a fictitious socio-political entity" (Trask's description of Fujikane's "local nation"), the Nisei decided to focus on their lives in the real world, where they would have to live, work, get married, and start families after the war; so they decided to cast their lot with the Settler State where they were born and raised.

Some Nisei even went so far as serving as spies and informants for the FBI and police, accusing some of the Issei community leaders of being agents of the Emperor and disloyal to America. A family friend told Mom that he heard her father was rumored to be a Japanese agent, and that Grandpa's younger brother was another agent sent to watch him. Another rumor was that Grandpa's oldest son, John, who had attended Waseda University in Tōkyō, was serving in the Japanese military, which was impossible since John had renounced his Japanese citizenship before he went to Japan and had already returned to Hilo. The Nisei who betrayed their parents' generation hoped to win the approval of Whites and take over leadership roles in the community. The Issei referred to the Nisei spies as "inu," literally "dogs," metaphorically "snoops," that is, "police dogs." According to Mazii, an

online community-built Japanese learning site, “inu” can also be used even more pejoratively to mean “loser” or “asshole.”

Initially, the US Army refused to take Jap soldiers, and only reluctantly did so because they needed troops to fight a war. The Settler State also decided that a segregated unit of Jap soldiers would make good propaganda to counteract Japanese propaganda that America was fighting a race war against all Asians. A unit of Jap soldiers would “prove” the America’s Asian allies that America was an open, Democratic society, unlike the fascist, racist Japan, Germany and Italy, even though the US also had a long history of racist discrimination and oppression of Natives and Non-whites, including Blacks, Chicanos, and Asians.

The segregated unit of Nisei soldiers was sent to Europe to fight because the US Army feared that if they were sent to fight the Japanese in the Pacific War, they might be shot in the back by White American soldiers mistaking them for Japs. (See “Note 5. Japanese American Volunteers and Draftees in the US Army,” in The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962.)

When the 100th Battalion of Japs from Hawai‘i arrived in North

Nisei soldiers training in the swamps of Missisippi at Camp Shelby

A Nisei soldier leading captive German soldiers

Africa to fight Germans, General Dwight Eisenhower, the future 34th US President (1953–1961), refused to take them under his command. According to the Congressional Record, Eisenhower had "concerns over the loyalty and patriotism of the Nisei" (Volume 156, Number 129, Thursday, September 23, 2010). General Mark Wayne Clark, commander of the US Fifth Army in Italy, accepted the 100th under his command, so the 100th was sent there to fight Italians and Germans.

3.60

In "Race Relations in Hawai'i," Asian Settler Club member Okamura reports that Japanese Americans "provided 60 percent of the US soldiers from Hawai'i and 80 percent of its casualties" (60). "*Provided* 80% of the casualties"? "Suffered" 80% of the casualties might be more accurate.

Of course, the purveyors of Asian Settler Colonialism might claim that the Nisei volunteered for service to suck up to Whites so that after the war, Whites would allow them to join the political and economic power structure of the Settler State and help it continue to subjugate and dispossess Native Hawaiians. Milton Murayama's novella *All I*

Asking for Is My Body offers a different perspective on the motivation of the Nisei. For protagonist Kiyoshi, signing up to serve in the US Army was a way to escape from the Maui sugar plantation where he grew up. Kiyoshi describes the plantation as "a pyramid of shit," with Whites living on the ridgetop, from where the sewage flowed down in a ditch through the camps of the workers below, stratified by ethnicity and jobs:

> Shit too was organized according to the plantation pyramid. Mr. Nelson was top shit on the highest slope, then there were the Portuguese, Spanish, and nisei lunas with their indoor toilets which flushed into the same ditches, then Japanese Camp and Filipino Camp (96).

At the outbreak of World War II, Kiyoshi comments, "Everybody in Kahana was dying to get out of this icky shit-hole, and here was his chance delivered on a silver platter" (98). Kiyoshi joins the US Army, and in a dice game before the Nisei ship out for basic training, he cheats his fellow Nisei and gets the $6,000 his family needs to pay off the debt that had them tethered to the plantation. Kiyoshi then tries to convince himself that cheating his fellow Nisei wasn't wrong: if he hadn't done it, someone else would have. He had adopted the American individualistic belief in a dog-eat-dog world in which he should take care of himself first, as the title of his novella suggests.

Murayama (1923–2016) grew up with his Issei parents in the 1920s and 30s in a plantation camp in Pu‘ukoli‘i on Maui. His escape from the plantation was more conventional than his protagonist's. When the war broke out, he was enrolled at the University of Hawai‘i and was serving in the Territorial Guard. The Nisei guardsmen had their weapons taken away and were relieved of their duties because the US Army didn't trust them. Later, when the US Army decided that it needed Nisei soldiers, Murayama volunteered. After graduating from the Military Intelligence Service training school at Camp Savage in Minnesota, he was sent as a translator-interpreter to Asia.

Nisei like Murayama were needed to serve as interpreters and translators for White American officers and soldiers, almost all of whom couldn't speak, understand, or read Japanese. The MIS recruited those Nisei who went to the language schools that the Issei established in Hawai‘i in the 1920s and 30s and that the White Territorial government tried to shut down. Pressed for time while the country was

at a war, the MIS didn't want to start training interpreters/translators from scratch, with the ABCs (that is, "あ-い-う-え-お"). Japanese was a difficult language. (See "Note 5. The Military Intelligence Service and Its Language School" in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962*.)

After Japan lost the war, Murayama was assigned to assist in the surrender and repatriation of Japanese soldiers on Taiwan. After his discharge, he returned to Hawai'i and completed a degree in English at the UH, then, on the GI Bill, earned a Master's in Japanese and Chinese at Columbia University in New York.

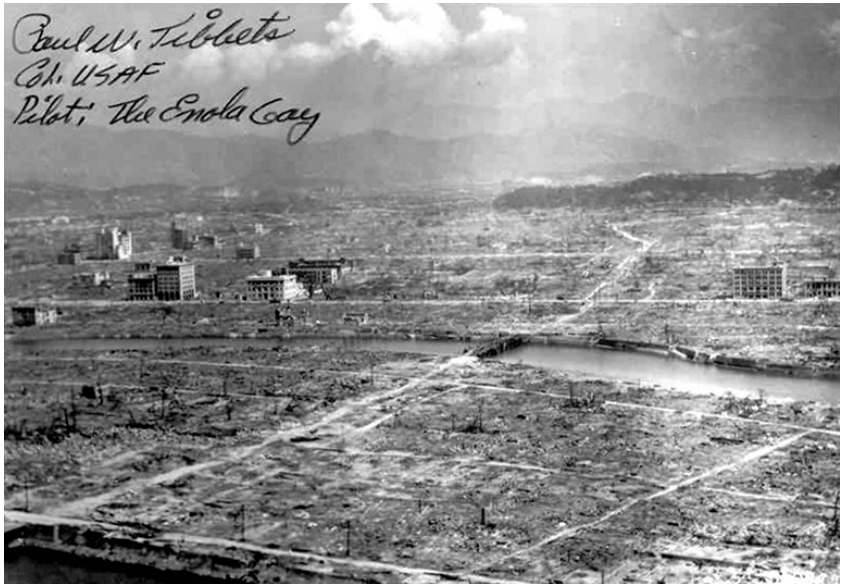
When I met Murayama in San Francisco in the late 1980s, he invited me over for dinner. He was living with his White wife, Dawn, in a middle-class house with a view, on Diamond Heights. We had steak and potatoes, and grunions that he and Dawn had caught at a beach in Southern California. He had made his way out of the "icky shit-hole" of the plantation through military service and a college education.

Unlike Murayama's protagonist Kiyoshi, who escaped the plantation at the expense of others in his community, other plantation workers joined unions after the war and went on strike to gain better wages and improve plantation living conditions for the multiethnic working class of the islands. (See subsections 4.20–4.27, in "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

3.61

Japan's plan to establish an Empire in Asia to defend itself militarily against the West failed within four years of the attack on Pearl Harbor. America counterattacked, battled Japanese military forces across the Pacific and Asia, drove them back to their home islands, then fire-bombed and nuked all its major cities (except Kyōto, the ancient capital) to terrorize civilians and force Japanese leaders to surrender, which they did. The fire-bombing of Tōkyō in May, 1945, using conventional incendiary bombs, ignited a massive inferno that killed an estimated 80,000, mainly civilian, while rendering over a million homeless. The US atomic bombing of Hiroshima City in August 1945 resulted in an estimated 135,000 casualties, mainly civilian, more than half of the city's population. People continued dying from radiation sickness in the years that followed.

Japan's invasions of its neighbors brought untold bloodshed, carnage,



Hiroshima was demolished by a US atomic bomb in August 1945. Autographed by the pilot of Enola Gay, the Boeing B-29 Superfortress that dropped the atomic bomb on the city, the photo was apparently intended as a souvenir of the successful atomic bomb attack.

and suffering to the peoples of Asia and the Pacific, the Allied and Japanese military forces, and Japan itself. After the war Japan suffered a humiliating seven year Occupation by Allied Forces led by America (1945–1952). During those years, America funded the rebuilding of Japan's economy so Japan would become an ally and allow America to establish military bases in its territory to defend the newly acquired American sphere of influence in Asia against Communist China and the USSR. Using its Japanese bases, America engaged in wars against Communism in Korea (1950–1953) and Vietnam (1955–1975).

In the end, Japan held onto its sovereignty and homeland. Was there another path that it could have taken to protect and preserve them? Not that an answer matters now; people in power make decisions, and tens of millions of people have to live with the outcomes and consequences for decades, centuries, or even "to the last syllable of recorded time."

In 2025, Martin Fackler of the *New York Times* interviewed Japanese World War II veterans who were still alive, and bitter about their military service during the war. One, 105 years old, said, "They wasted our lives like pieces of scrap paper. Never die for Emperor or

country." Another, a 96-year-old who enlisted at 14, told Fackler, "I tell the younger generations, 'A long time ago, we did something really stupid. Don't go to war. Stay home with your parents and families.'" A third, a 97-year-old who enlisted at 15 in 1943, said, "In their last breaths, no one shouted for the long life of the Emperor. They called out for their mothers, whom they would never see again."

Harry Truman, the 33rd US President, reviewing US Jap soldiers in Washington, D.C., on July 15, 1946, after the Japs returned from the battlefields of Europe. Truman authorized the atomic bombing of two Jap cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in August 1945, killing thousands of civilians, in order to terrorize the Emperor into surrendering, which he did, in September 1945.

3.62

Toward the end of the war, in June 1945, the US Army drafted my eighteen-year-old dad after his freshman year at the University of Hawai'i and assigned him to take Japanese language classes at Schofield Barracks with a segregated company of Nisei. With the war coming to an end in Europe, and Japan being driven back to its home islands in the Pacific, the Army may have anticipated that it

Detroit, 1946. Dad visiting his sister Jane and her husband Roy Wakasa in Detroit (on the left). In front of Dad is his niece June and next to her, her younger brother Ronald, born in Gila River Detention Center. On the right is Dad's other sister, who was the first to leave the detention center to relocate in Detroit for work. His two sisters and their families moved back to Los Angeles in 1952.

would need more Japanese-speaking soldiers for an invasion of Japan or a post-war occupation. From Schofield, Dad and his company was sent to Minnesota to enroll in more language training classes at an MIS school there. Unfortunately, almost everyone in Dad's company, including Dad, failed the rigorous entrance exam. With nothing to do, the company spent their time ice fishing in the headwaters of the Mississippi River, learning to ski, building snowmen, and drinking beer, until the war ended. The Army then asked them to reenlist, promising them a trip home to Hawai‘i for Rest and Recuperation before going for more basic training in Alabama. Dad signed up so he could return home to see Mom, who was studying for a degree in dietetics at the University of Hawai‘i.

After training in carpentry as part of the Quartermaster Corps, Dad was deployed for six-month in post-war Japan. Before he left the continent, he went to visit his two sisters who had moved to Detroit after they were released from the Gila River Detention Center.

In Japan, Dad was assigned to build housing and warehouses for the

Allied Occupation forces; he supervised Japanese workers because he could speak Japanese. He was stationed in Shinagawa, in south Tōkyō. According to Oliver Statler, who went to Japan with the US Army after the war, life was good for the American soldiers:

> In the post-war inflation and shortages that gripped Japan, money lost its value and only things mattered. With well-stocked Post Exchanges at their disposal, Occupationaires had things in abundance, things exciting and desirable to people who could scarcely remember good candy, good soap, and good cigarettes. Many an American discovered that he could convert two or three cartons of cigarettes, purchased tax-free at sixty or seventy cents, into a weekend of freedom and luxury. It was illegal, of course, but all the more interesting for that. (*Japanese Inn* 352–353)

On their days off, Dad and his army buddies went to Kamakura, a beach town on Sagami Bay thirty-six miles south of Shinagawa. Kamakura was one of the places the Occupation administration allowed off-duty US soldiers to visit. They traveled on trains reserved for them. His buddy Norman recalls that he and Dad each carried two cases of beer to Kamakura, one on each shoulders. They hung out at the beach and body surfed. Dad and his Nisei buddies sold American cigarettes on the

Dad (left) drinking beer in a shack on the beach in Kamakura with his Nisei army buddies from Hawai'i

black market to buy Japanese beer, and exchanged American beer for Japanese beer. The owner of a beach concession stand kept the beer on ice for them.

After returning to Hawai'i, Dad got a job at a private construction company, which had a contract to construct and repair buildings at Pearl Harbor. In 1948, he went to a college in Milwaukee on the GI Bill to get a degree in Electrical Engineering. After he became an electronic technician, carpentry was an avocation—he added four rooms onto a subdivision house he bought with Mom in Kāne'ohe in 1962.

During his summer in Japan in 1948, Dad also discovered the pleasure of boating. Building boats became a passion for Dad. Between 1954 and 1966, he ordered plans and built three fishing boats, the last one an 32-footer with an inboard engine to bottom fish and troll out of Kāne'ohe Bay.

Left: On Lake Chuzenji in Nikkō, Japan: Dad (at the stern) and two buddies. The boat was propelled by a boar's tusk oar manned by the guy in the middle**. Right:** Dad in a yukata fastened with an army belt, near Lake Chuzenji, with Mt. Nantai behind him

Dad's family didn't have a boat while he growing up on Maui, but his father taught the three boys to fish from shore with a pole or a throw net. They walked a couple of miles from the family house to the

rocky north shore between Pa‘uwela Point and Kui‘aha Point. Their favorite fishing holes had names like Lighthouse, Shark Hole, Coconut, Ma-ke Place, High Stone, Pandan Island, Straight, and Suda. The three boys learned to spear fish at Coconut on the east side of Kui‘aha Bay. Grandpa sometimes fished at night with a throw net to catch āholehole, mamo, menpachi, pāpio, moi, po‘opa‘a, kūpīpī, and moano in the shallow waters along the shore. (See subsection 3.32 above) At the family New Year’s celebration, he gave each of his ten children an āholehole for good luck.

Dad’s third boat launching at He‘eia Kea Pier in Kāne‘ohe, c. 1966

3.63

After Japan surrendered in September 1945, Matsujirō Ōtani was allowed to return to Hawai‘i from the Santa Fe detention center in November. He resumed control of his fish distribution company, which during his four-year imprisonment was managed by his oldest son. In 1952 Ōtani established the United Fishing Agency and the Honolulu Fish Auction, modeled on the Tsukiji Fish Market in Tōkyō. After the Japanese government refused to allow its fishermen to be recruited to Hawai‘i or the US because it wanted to rebuild its own fishing industry (Ogawa 128), Ōtani arranged for fishermen from Okinawa, which was under US military control, to come to the Territory of Hawai‘i to replace aging Issei fishermen (Chun, “Matsujirō Ōtani”). However, West Coast canneries began using purse-seining boats, which could

catch twenty times more tuna per boat than could the sampan in Hawai'i. The aku fishing industry in Hawai'i never fully recovered after the war and faded into extinction (Van Tilburg). With the passing of Matsujirō in 1972, his son Akira took over the United Fishing Agency, which continued to operate the Honolulu Fish Auction.

Like Ōtani, Grandpa wasn't allowed to return to Hilo until November 1945, so he missed watching the July 4, 1945, parade of the 1st Regiment Hawaii Rifles that marched past his store to celebrate its deactivation as the war between Japan and America was coming to an end. His oldest son, who liked to drink and gamble, managed the store while Grandpa was imprisoned. During the war, one of the Nisei employees embezzled funds from the store.

Kuwahara Store (right) on Kamehameha Avenue in downtown Hilo. On July 4, 1945, Company "E" of the 1st Regiment Hawaii Rifles, led by commanding officer Captain Donald H. Hall, paraded past the store.

Four months after Grandpa's return, his store was damaged by a tsunami on April 1, 1946. The successive waves knocked down most of the buildings along the oceanside of Kamehameha Avenue in downtown Hilo. The Kuwahara Store was one of the only buildings left standing.

An urban legend spread that Grandpa's store was spared because before the tsunami hit, "an old Hawaiian woman" came by and asked for food, so he gave her some: "So she ate it and she told him, 'You know, you're a good man. Something real big going to happen but

On April 1, 1946, waves from a tsunami swept into the Hilo waterfront; the man standing at the left margin drowned.

The Kuwahara Store surrounded by tsunami wreckage on the ocean side of Kamehameha Avenue.

you'll be okay.'" (Robert "Steamy"Chow, a retired police officer, in *Tsunamis Remembered: Oral Histories of Survivors and Observers in Hawai'i*, Volume I).

A Nisei who grew up in Wainaku, two miles north of Hilo, told my mom years later that Grandpa let him catch a ride home on the delivery truck after school and on the way home, he enjoyed snacking on the

The Kuwahara Store, restored and standing alone on the ocean side of Kamehameha Avenue, c. 1952 The buildings on both sides were swept away by the tsunami of April 1, 1946..

Grandpa Kuwahara (back row, on the right) and his family in Hilo, c. 1952. Grandma stands in front of him, with his Honolulu-born sister-in-law Kiyo next to her. On the far left is Grandpa's brother Gunshirō. His first and second sons appear with their families in the back row; his third son with his wife and daugther are seated, on the left.

dried shrimp that was among the goods being delivered to the Wainaku branch of the Kuwahara Store.

Grandpa restored his store and managed it for another seven years while reunited with his growing family, which now included grandchildren, his first grandchild born in 1945 while he was in prison.

In 1949, Grandma traveled to her hometown in Hiroshima, probably to visit her mother, who was ailing; her mother passed away the following year.

Perhaps Grandma also returned to attend a memorial service for her older brother, Jitsunosuke, who jumped ship and entered America illegally in 1922, when new workers from Japan had already been banned. After his father passed away in 1913, he was head of the family household and had to earn money to support his mother and younger siblings. In Washington State, he worked under an alias at a lumber mill in Eatonville. The US government discovered that he was an illegal alien in 1936 when he was required to register for Social Security; however, the INS was apparently never informed, so he continue to work in Eatonville. During the war, he was imprisoned at a detention center in Minidoka, Idaho. After his release in 1945, he wasn't deported, but allowed to go to California, where he found work as a farm laborer in Sutter County, north of Sacramento. He passed away from a heart attack in Sutter Hospital in Sacramento two years later, in 1948. He was cremated, and his belongings were sent home to Hiroshima by a friend, but what happened to his ashes after they were turned over to a Buddhist temple in Sacramento is still a family mystery. (See "Note 7. Jitsunosuke Kiyokawa: A Life of Sacrifice," in *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara*.)

His life in America was much harder than the life of Grandma, his oldest sister.

3.64

At the mock hearing in 1941 that declared Grandpa an enemy alien, one of the interrogators asked him whether when he emigrated in 1907, he intended to go back to Japan. He replied, "Yes. I had the intention of going back, but I didn't go back." In 1954, however, the County of Hawai'i condemned Grandpa's store for redevelopment of the Hilo waterfront. The store was replaced by a parking lot for stores on the mountain side of Kamehameha Avenue. With all his children grown up and married, he now had his opportunity to return home.

In 1954, he took the money the City of Hilo paid him for the store and returned to Japan for the first time in almost five decades. He bought and operated a hotel in Hiroshima City with a partner to earn money during the post-war reconstruction of his homeland. By then, both of his parents had passed away. The hotel was near Hiroshima Train Station, about a mile east of ground zero of the atomic bomb blast that had destroyed the city nine years earlier.

To operate his hotel, Grandpa stayed in Japan for months, extending two of his stays to over a year with INS approval. (Aliens were generally required to return to the US before a year to maintain their return privilege.) In between two of his stays, while back in Hilo for a year and a half, he sold his two-story, two-family home on Kaūmana Road and bought a single family home on Kino‘ole Street, where he planned to retire and live with Grandma and his first son and family. He remodeled the Kino‘ole house, which had been built in 1927. Then he returned to Japan for a year and ten months. In 1959, Grandma joined Grandpa in Japan to stay with her siblings in her hometown.

In 1960, Grandpa sold his share of the Hiroshima hotel and returned to Hilo. When he returned, he was ill, probably with hepatitis. He willed his Hilo house to his oldest son and also made a final gift of $1,000 to each of his other five children to help them make down payments on their first homes.

Grandma took care of Grandpa with the help of a nurse. When Grandpa passed away from an ailing liver in 1962, his funeral service was held at the Honpa Honganji in Hilo; his ashes were eventually inurned in Nu‘uanu, on O‘ahu, near where his two daughters lived—the two of his children most likely to visit his grave with flowers.

Grandpa left Grandma with survivor benefits from his Social Security account. (In January 1937, all employers and employees, including aliens, were required to pay one percent of the first $3,000 in wages and salary into retirement accounts annually, as stipulated by the Social Security Act that became law in 1935.) For a decade after Grandpa’s death, Grandma used her Social Security benefits to live in Japan with her sister, helping her sister’s family with expenses, bringing goods like coffee and chocolate that were still hard to get in Japan, and also traveling to see her homeland on tours with friends.

Her sister’s family in Japan appreciated her visits because like other Japanese families, they were struggling financially after the war. Each year, Grandma returned to Hilo before a year was up to retain her return privilege to the US.

Kuwahara Gunichi (July 1, 1888–Dec. 4, 1962) and Koyuka (Aug. 10, 1896–Feb. 7, 1978). A long version of Grandpa's life appears at *The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara, 1888–1962*.

Grandma (right) with a friend at the wooden arches of the famous Kintai Bridge in Iwakuni, Yamaguchi Prefecture, when the sakura were in bloom.

In 1974, too old to travel, Grandma came to live with my mom in Kāne’ohe. Mom took care of her for the final four years of her life. Grandma passed away in 1978 and is inurned with Grandpa in Nu‘uanu. Before my mom passed away, she assigned me to visit their graves twice a year with flowers. After I pass, I doubt the grave will get many, if any, visitors. Not many in the next generation (Yonsei, or fourth generation) feel a deep connection to their grandparents and their ancestral culture.

3.65

“ ... And Mud Lane shall be known as Piopio,” a story in Susan Nunes’ *A Small Obligation and other stories of Hilo*, ends on a sad note about an Issei who returned home to Japan. The narrator recalls fondly fragments of childhood memories of Mr. Naito, an elderly Issei, apparently unmarried and childless, who worked as a yardman for her grandfather in Hilo. Sometime after the narrator grows up, Mr. Naito returned to Japan after spending his adult life working in Hawai‘i. Years later, when the narrator asks her grandmother about him, her grandmother reports that he went home with his life savings, and his relatives in Japan ended up spending most of it. The grandmother comments (condescendingly?), “it was a shame it had to happen to such a nice man” (69). In another story, Nunes translates the Hawaiian word “pio” as “gone,“ “ended” (“The Yardman” 21).

The names in the story are fictionalized, but Nunes’ real grandfather, Yoshio Shinoda, was the principal of the Hilo Independent Language School, which in the early 1930s was “the largest language school on the island of Hawai’i with over a thousand students” (Nakamura, “Hilo Independent Language School”). My mom’s father sent his six children to the school in the 1930s and gave graduations speeches there. On the day of the Pearl Harbor attack, the US military police evicted Shinoda’s family from their housing on campus, “transformed the school campus into the military police headquarters” and “converted the kindergarten building into a jail”; the principal’s residence became a holding cell for temporary detention of aliens.” Shinoda was arrested and held for “a few months” before release. The school didn’t reopen after the war.

3.66

In 1949, after over thirty years in Hawai‘i, my paternal grandfather

took Grandma and returned to visit their family hometown of Tomo, in Hiroshima Prefecture. They stayed for two months, from April to June. Although Grandpa's parents had asked the couple to return years earlier to learn more about family history and traditions to pass on to their children and grandchildren, Grandpa didn't have the time or money for the trip while he and his wife were running the Kawaharada Restaurant and raising ten children in Hawai'i. Then war broke out. By the time Grandpa, 62, and Grandma, 49, returned to Tomo, both their parents had passed away. Grandpa and Grandma visited the family graves. Grandma also sought out Mrs. Sasaki, her beloved ikebana (flower arranging) teacher from her adolescent years in Tomo. During my interview of Grandma in 1985, she recalled that the families in Tomo were surprised that she and Grandpa looked so young, even though they had been away for decades and were grandparents. Grandma also told me that Grandpa regretted not having returned to Tomo while his parents were still alive. Grandpa passed away on Maui in 1953, four years after his return to his hometown.

When I interviewed Grandma, I asked her what she would like to pass on to her children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. She replied the Kawaharada tradition of helping one's community. She recalled a story told in Tomo of how the Kawaharada family, whose patriarch was the village headman, helped small farmers of the area during a drought in their district; and that the farmers of the area remembered the kindness and continued to show appreciation for many years after. A village headman served as the liaison between the village and the lord who owned the land. The peasants had to give a percentage of their rice harvest each year (40–60%) as a tribute or risk losing their land. She and Grandpa brought the tradition of helping the community to Maui and carried it on in their work there in support of the Japanese language school and the Buddhist temple where they worshiped.

Grandma also expressed a hope that Japan and America never go to war again. She outlived Grandpa by forty-five years, passing away in 1999, a little shy of 100 years old. Their urns are housed at the repository of the Honpa Honganji in Makawao, Maui, along with the urn of Grandpa's first wife Tomoe, who died in childbirth in 1915. In the end, my grandparents decided to die and be buried in the country where their children were living rather than with their ancestors in their hometowns in Japan.

Grandma Kawaharada at ninety-five, with a portrait of Grandpa, 1994. Photo by Renee Iijima

4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood

[Section 4 of 5, with 63 Subsections]

"... it was only when plantation workers unionized did they finally achieve respect and dignity for their work. The 1954 elections changed the political and economic face of Hawaii, as the newly elected Democratic majority in the Legislature got there mainly through efforts of organized labor. ... The labor movement in Hawaii reached its peak in the early 1970s, with achievement of equal opportunity, economic growth and social mobility." —David K. Trask, Jr., head of the Hawaii Government Employees Association

[Jack Kawano, International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) leader] participated in the Democratic Party organizing because he agreed with the Democrats' slogan, "the Democratic Party is the party of the working man." —Takagi-Kitayama, "A Look at the Political Process of Hawaii's Second Revolution: From the Standpoint of Jack Kawano, a Nisei Labor Organizer."

"Development is good for Hawaii because it creates jobs. Union jobs. Well-paying jobs for masons, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and painters. It creates jobs for professionals, architects, engineers, lawyers, and accountants; and jobs for sales teams. Hawaii was in an economic boom. Construction jobs were essential to keep the economy growing. Prosperity benefits all of us." —Walter Kupau, leader of Hawaii Carpenters Union, Local 745

4.1

In "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" (2000), Haunani-Kay Trask presents her view of how residents of Asian ancestry ascended to dominance in the Settler State of Hawai'i during the second half of the twentieth century:

> Settler children, ever industrious and deserving, obtain technical and liberal educations, thereby learning the political system through which they agitate for full voting rights as American citizens. Politically, the vehicle for Asian ascendancy is statehood. As a majority of voters at mid-century, the Japanese and other Asians moved into the middle class and eventually into seats of power in the legislature and the governor's house. (2)

She acknowledges that "[s]ome Hawaiians, the best educated and articulate, benefit from the triumph of the Democratic Party over the haole Republican Party"; however, "as a people, Hawaiians remain a politically subordinated group suffering all the legacies of conquest: landlessness, disastrous health, diaspora, institutionalization in the military and prisons, poor educational attainment, and confinement to the service sector of employment" (3).

Trask also notes that the narrative of Asian Ascendancy, part of "the post-statehood euphoria" of Settlers, stigmatizes Natives "as a failed indigenous people whose conditions, including out-migration, actually worsen after statehood. Hawaiians are characterized as strangely unsuited, whether because of culture or genetics, to the game of assimilation" (3). (That narrative, fabricated and promoted by White settlers and their Non-white supporters, also stereotypes residents of Asian ancestries as patriotic model citizens, "ever industrious and deserving," of the White Colony.)

But Trask isn't arguing for a bigger share of the State's political and economic pie for Natives. She uses an emotional appeal to anger over "Asian Ascendancy" to motivate Natives to resist being dominated by Whites and Asians and to work for Native self-determination and sovereignty. She rejects "the prevailing ideology of 'power sharing'" with other ethnic groups as another form of colonialism:

> Politically, "power sharing" serves to reinforce the colonial

> position that Hawaiians are just another competing "ethnic group" waiting their turn for political dominance. Disguising the colonial history and subordinated position of Natives, while equating Natives and non-Natives, the ideology tells a false tale of just desserts. Empirically, of course, subjugated peoples cannot willingly share anything. In the case of Hawaiians, we have nothing left to share. Our lands and resources, taken at the overthrow and transferred at annexation to the American government and later to the State of Hawai'i are, literally, not under our control. ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 3))

Native don't have control over the two departments of the Settler State of Hawai'i established to address the social, economic, and cultural needs of Natives—the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). The two State agencies are controlled by the executive and legislative branches of the State government, which includes Non-natives.

Trask's argument is that Natives would fare better under their own government, on a land base consisting of the Public Land Trust and its income. That may or may not be true, but there is no way of knowing without establishing a Native government. Trask advocates for Ka Lāhui Hawai'i ("The Hawaiian Nation"), a Native nation that her older sister Mililani proposed in 1987. Ka Lāhui would establish

> ... a "federally recognized" Native Hawaiian land base and government that would establish a nation-to-nation relationship with the American government as is the case today with nearly 500 American Indian nations. Such a relationship would mean plenary powers for the Hawaiian nation over its territories. At present, these territories are controlled by the State and Federal governments which regulate public use. (13)

Trask describes how the land base would be obtained:

> The burden rests with the United States and the State of Hawai'i to inventory and restore the lands of the Native trusts, both Federally and State-held, and to remedy all Federal and State breaches of the trust relating to these assets. The Federal and State governments must segregate the trust lands from

> other public and private lands. The United States must allocate not less than two million acres of land (that is, all the ceded lands) drawn from State-controlled and Federally-controlled lands to the National Land Trust. (18–19)

Trask summarizes what would belong to the National Land Trust of Ka Lāhui:

> ... the land and natural resource entitlements of indigenous Hawaiians within the entire archipelago. These entitlements include State-held trust lands, that is, Hawaiian homes lands and ceded lands; marine resources and fisheries; surface and ground water rights, and submerged lands; lands and natural resources under the Federal Government; energy resources such as ocean thermal and geothermal sources; minerals, airspace and the trust assets of the private trusts. (19)

4.2

The Ceded Lands (the Crown and Government lands taken by the Republic of White Oligarchs in 1893) were granted to the Territorial Government by the Organic Act of 1900, which incorporated Hawai‘i as a US Territory; the lands were transferred to the State of Hawai‘i with Statehood in 1959. Transfer of the Ceded Lands to Ka Lāhui would require “federal legislation recognizing Hawaiians as Native peoples eligible for inclusion in the federal policy on recognized Native nations” (“Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony” 8).

In 2000, Trask was particularly angry at US Senator Daniel Inouye, who emerged as the most powerful member of the Democratic Party after its leader since 1952, Governor John A. Burns, died in 1978. She pointed out Inouye’s “twenty-year refusal” to introduce the federal legislation needed to recognize Hawaiians as eligible to establish a Native nation. Instead of introducing such legislation, Inouye worked with his allies in the Hawaiian community, including some trustees and officers of the State’s Office of Hawaiian Affairs and non-profit organizations addressing Native needs, to bring millions of dollars in federal funding earmarked for Native education, health and social services, and cultural renewal programs. In other words, Inouye did what Hawai‘i’s Congressional delegates have done since Hawai‘i became a US Territory: he milked the federal cow for funding to

benefit Native Hawaiians. (For the origin of the metaphor of milking the federal cow, see subsection 1.22 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected' Ideas ... .")

Trask criticized Native leaders who supported Inouye's approach and who advised Inouye against supporting the Ka Lāhui initiative, describing them as on Inouye's "dole" and his "favorites" (7-8). Trask argued that instead of participating in power sharing and milking the federal cow, Natives should support the Ka Lāhui initiative. In "Kūpa'a 'Āina" (1999), she notes that within three years of its founding in 1987, Ka Lāhui had 7,500 members (70-71). In 1993, more than fifteen thousand people participated in a protest march led by Ka Lāhui marking the one hundredth year since the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893; it was "the single largest demonstration in the history of modern Hawai'i" (82). By 1998, Ka Lāhui had 20,000 members (74). (In 1990, there were 138,742 Native Hawaiians in Hawai'i, and 72,272 in the other 49 States; in 2000, there were 239,655 in Hawai'i, and 161,507 in the other 49 States.)

Between 2000 and 2012, Native Hawaiian Daniel Kahikina Akaka (1924–2018), who joined Inouye in the US Senate, sponsored various bills to create a legal framework for a sovereign Hawaiian government within the US. The bills didn't get enough support in the US Senate to pass. They were opposed by Hawaiians who believed that Hawaiians

Daniel Kahikina Akaka (1924–2018)

should be independent of the US, not a "nation within a nation"; and by those who believed that Hawaiians would be better off by remaining as citizens of the State of Hawai'i. Some Non-native individuals and groups opposed "special race-based treatment" for Hawaiians. One observer noted on the internet, "The [Akaka bills were] unable to overcome the political headwinds and never became law."

4.3

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs was established by a State Constitutional Amendment in 1978, based on a recommendation by delegates to the Constitutional Convention that year. According to Kotani, George Ariyoshi, the first governor of Japanese ancestry (1974–1986), refused to fund it adequately with revenues from the Public Land Trust (176), which angered Native Hawaiians because one of the five purposes of the Public Land Trust was the betterment of the conditions of Native Hawaiians. Ariyoshi's refusal to fund OHA adequately was more evidence that "Asian ascendancy" was detrimental to Native Hawaiians. The first Native governor, John Waihe'e (1986–1994), negotiated an agreement with OHA in 1990 to fund it with the past due and future income it was entitled to, amounting to one-fifth of the past and present income of the Public Land Trust. The exact accounting of the amount due OHA has yet to be determined, but OHA uses the funds allocated by the legislature annually to benefit Hawaiians, in the form of scholarships, loans to start businesses and improve homes, and grants to fund programs and services to improve Native Hawaiian health and well-being.

When the State set up OHA in 1978, it wanted to limit the voting for the trustees to Native Hawaiians. However, White Big Island rancher Harold "Freddy" Rice filed suit to require the State to allow everyone, not just Hawaiians, to vote for trustees. In 2000, the US Supreme Court sided with Rice. Voters like me who support Native self-determination leave the ballot section for OHA candidates blank, but since everyone is allowed to vote, Non-natives are free to interfere in the election of trustees if they want to. Who votes in OHA elections, however, is not particularly relevant to Trask's argument for self-determination and independence, since OHA would no longer be needed if and when Ka Lāhui were established.

4.4

Trask writes, "...the notion that settlers should participate in any form in the sovereignty process is ludicrous. In principle and in practice, Native sovereignty must be controlled by Natives" ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 10); and "individuals, whether haole or Asian, must choose to support a form of Hawaiian self-determination created by Hawaiians" (20). She also writes that Non-native locals, including those of Asian ancestry, should support Ka Lāhui Hawai'i over other sovereignty initiatives:

> Often, potentially "supportive" locals complain about the confusion surrounding the many sovereignty positions. But the easiest and most defensible position is the one which follows the Ka Lahui Master Plan. No matter the future leadership of Ka Lahui, the Plan will remain as the clearest document of this period in Hawaiian history. Non-Natives who support the Plan are, in effect, supporting all the struggles of indigenous peoples which created the Draft Declaration at the United Nations. (21).

I support Native self-determination, but I don't have an opinion about what form it should take, not because the positions are confusing, but because forming an opinion would be "participating in the process."

4.5

In 1996, Mililani Trask, Kia'āina (governor) of Ka Lāhui Hawai'i, acknowledged and welcomed the debate among Natives over what form Native self-determination or sovereignty should take:

> There's a negative stereotype that has always floated around ... Hawaiians can't get together; Hawaiians are always bickering and fighting. That is in part the case because we believe in diversity of opinion in a democracy. In a democracy, you expect to have a lot of opinions. You expect to hear a great debate. Now in fascist nations, everyone is silent, and they all march to the beat of the same drummer. So when we reflect upon the disunity, remember that the other side of the coin is great diversity. (Qtd. in Fujikane, "Reimagining Development and the Local in Lois-Ann Yamanaka's Saturday Night at the

Pahala Theatre" 56)

M. Trask added, "if we are going to come up with a solution, something that is realistic and practical in Hawai'i, it is going to be fashioned by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. It is going to be something that we're all going to have to participate in." She was aware that a "realistic and practical" solution like Ka Lāhui would require negotiations between Hawaiians and the Federal and State governments, and thus would likely involve some non-Hawaiian representatives of those entities.

As of 2025, Native Hawaiian sovereignty hasn't been re-established. Several initiatives advocating it emerged over the years. Ka Lāhui, formed without its land base in 1987, was preceded c. 1969 by the Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry (A.L.O.H.A.) Hawai'i's Nisei Congressional Representatives Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Takemoto Mink supported that initiative.

In the late 1980s, around the time of the 1987 founding of the Ka Lāhui Hawai'i initiative, Kekuni Blaisdell, a medical doctor and

US Congressional representatives Spark Matsunaga (fourth from the right) and Patsy Takemoto Mink (on the right) showed their support for Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry (A.L.O.H.A.) at a fundraiser telethon in 1973. (Photo from a post titled "5 major events of the 1970s Hawaiian Renaissance Movement," at the website of 'Āina Momona ["Fertile, Rich Land"])

founding chair of the Department of Medicine at the University of Hawai‘i’s John Burns School of Medicine, established Ka Pākaukau (refering to “a long mat on which food was placed”) and offered to sit down and negotiate with the US President for a “nation within a nation” for Native Hawaiians.

In 1993, Dennis Pu‘uhonua “Bumpy” Kanahele established an encampment at Makapu‘u Beach Park. In 1994, as head of The Nation of Hawai‘i, he signed a 55-year lease on a 45-acre plot of undeveloped, state-owned lands for $3,000 per year, or $250 per month and built a village called Pu‘uhonua o Waimānalo with 20 houses for 80 Native Hawaiian residents. In 2017, after thinking about “the 65-year lease awarded in 1964 to the U.S. military for $1 at Pōhakuloa, a military training area covering thousands of acres on the Big Island,” The Nation of Hawai‘i decided that it would also pay $1 a year for its plot. Brandon Maka‘awa‘awa told writer Adrienne LaFrance, “The state is ‘pissed,’” but he doesn’t care because ‘it’s our land’” (“The Hawaiians Who Want Their Nation Back”). Recently, Pu‘uhonua o Waimānalo was proposed as a model to house Native Hawaiians on State land in Wai‘anae.

Since the 1990s, a political entity called the Hawaiian Kingdom, based on the Constitution and laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom as they existed before the 1893 overthrow, has been “operating within the occupied State of the Hawaiian Islands” under an Acting Council of Regency chaired by Dr. Keanu Sai (*The Kingdom of Hawai‘i* website).

Another group calling itself The Hawaiian Kingdom Government was established in 2008 with about 1,000 members.

In 2014, the State Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) announced its support of Na‘i Aupuni, “a consortium of Native Hawaiian leaders who have stepped forward from among the ranks of these ali‘i [chiefly-class] founded-organizations to facilitate Hawaiian nation building” (*Office of Hawaiian Affairs* website.) The plan was to hold an election of certified Native Hawaiian voters to select Native delegates who would convene to draft a governing document for a nation. Na‘i Aupuni [“Strive for a Nation”] would then hold a referendum in which Native Hawaiian voters would approve or disapprove of the proposal for a Native government. If the proposal were approved, the next step would have been to begin negotiations with the US government for establishing a such a government. However, Kamehameha Schools graduate Keli‘i Akina et al (three Natives and two Non-Natives) filed suit to block the

election because it was race-based. Although the election was held, a US court blocked Na‘i Aupuni from counting the votes or announcing which delegates were elected. As with the Akaka Bill, political head winds, blowing from both Native and Non-native individuals and groups prevailed, and nothing came of the Na‘i Aupuni initiative.

Akina serves as president of the Grassroots Institute of Hawai‘i, a predominantly White organization of business people whose mission, according to its website, is “to educate people about the principles of individual liberty, economic freedom and limited, accountable government”; it “strives to bring Hawaii’s people together to work for a better economy, better governance and a better society.” In 2016 and again in 2020, Akina was elected as trustee-at-large for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

4.6

Until a Native government is established, the Public Land Trust, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) remain in the hands of whoever controls the State government. In the 1954 Territorial election, for the first time since the US established Hawai‘i as a US Territory in 1900, the Democratic Party won the majority of seats in the State House of Representatives (22 of 30 seats) and the State Senate (9 of 15 seats). Some writers called it “a revolution”; “takeover of the majority” is more accurate. The Democratic Party took political control of Hawai’i from the Republican Party of the White Oligarchy that dominated the US Territory for its first fifty years. (See “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

To support Trask’s assertion that by the end of the 1950s, “Asian Settlers,” using Statehood, gained control of the colony of Hawai‘i, Fujikane follows Trask in characterizing the 1954 Democratic Party victory as an “Asian ascendancy,” asserting falsely that “Japanese children of plantation laborers led the Democratic Party takeover of both houses of the Territorial Legislature” (“Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i” 5). As flattering as this version of local history is to self-congratulatory Nisei, and their Sansei children and Yonsei grandchildren who helped fabricate and promote the myth, that’s not exactly what happened.

The leadership of the Democratic Party in the 1950s and beyond wasn’t of Japanese or Asian ancestry, but multiethnic. John A. Burns

(1909–1975), the leader of the post-war Democratic Party, became its chair in 1952 and built a coalition of unionized workers of all ethnicities, on and off the plantations. He also recruited young educated Nisei, including US Army veterans, who went to college during and after the war. The party believed that people of every ethnicity in Hawai‘i could and should work together for their common good. After the war, the Nisei didn't have to "agitate for full voting rights as American citizens," as Trask asserts ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 2). Born as US citizens, they already had full voting rights, the same voting rights that every other US citizen in Hawai‘i had, including Natives. After Statehood, the multiethnic voters of Hawai‘i had the right to elect their own Governor and Lt. Governor, two US Senators, and two Representatives who could vote.

Burns came to Hawai'i with his White parents from Montana in 1913. His father was a Sergeant Major in the US Army, assigned to Fort Shafter, and left his family after being discharged for stealing fund. John was raised by his mother in the multiethnic working-class neighborhood of Kalihi, in West Honolulu. He moved back and forth between Hawai‘i and the continent during his adolescence and early adulthood, but eventually settled in Hawai‘i. He graduated from St. Louis High School in Honolulu in 1930; in 1934, he became a police officer working in and getting to know the local multiethnic communities. During World War II, he was in charge of the department's Espionage Bureau, which investigated the Issei and Nisei community and found no evidence of disloyalty to America. He led the Honolulu Police Contact Group, which promoted interracial unity during the war (Nakamura, "Morale Committees").

4.7

The Democratic Party didn't start with Burns. In a speech in Congress in 2001 praising part-Hawaiian Judge Walter M. Heen, Senator Inouye recognized four earlier politicians of Hawaiian ancestry who were the core of the party in the first half of the twentieth century, when the party was a minority in the Territorial legislature: Mayor John Wilson (1871–1956), who was a founding member of the Party in 1900, the year Hawai‘i became a US Territory; David Trask, Sr. (1890–1950), the grandfather of Haunani-Kay and Mililani Trask; and two brothers, William Ha‘eha‘e Heen (1883—1973) and Ernest Nālani

Heen (1895–1965). Ernest was the father of Judge Walter M. Heen, whom Inouye praised in his speech to Congress ("Judge Walter M. Heen—A Lifetime of Achievement," *Congressional Record*, Volume 147, 2001, pp. 6494-6495).

Wilson (1871–1956) served as mayor for three separate terms between 1920 and 1954. (For his story, see subsection 3.24 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i.")

David Trask, Sr. (1890–1950) came to Honolulu from Kaua'i as a ten year old orphan in 1900. His obituary summarizes his career ("David Trask Rites Set for Tomorrow," *Honolulu Advertiser*, Oct. 13, 1950). When he arrived in Honolulu, he spoke two languages, Hawaiian and Japanese. He went to Royal School up to the seventh grade. He sold newspapers, shined shoes, and dove for coins tossed into the water by tourists from ships in Honolulu Harbor. In 1907, at 17, he got his first job as a ditch digger at Pearl Harbor, but also attended night school to study engineering. He was hired for a civil service job as a rodman for a survey crew gathering data for maps of the Pearl Harbor Naval Reservation. He worked that job for sixteen years, eventually becoming head transit man.

David Trask, Sr. (*The Honolulu Advertiser,* Oct. 13, 1950

In 1922, Trask became a city building inspector and also served as chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the Police Commission. He led an investigation and cleanup of graft in the police department, then won election as Sheriff of Honolulu in 1923. After losing an election for sheriff in 1926, he sold cars and real estate and worked as a district court practitioner with his son Arthur, an attorney, in a father-son partnership. In 1932, he was elected to the Territorial Senate and served till 1943. For more than a decade, he was also chair of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, before retiring for health reasons. He initially opposed Statehood, but changed his position after

attending the Democratic National Convention in 1940. During the 1940s, he was active on Statehood committees, including the Hawai‘i Statehood Commission established in 1947. From 1948, he served as High Sheriff of the Territory until he passed away in 1950.

David Trask, Jr. (1923–2016), an uncle of Haunani-Kay and Mililani Trask, followed his father into politics. In the 1954 election, when the Democrats took over the legislature, Trask, Jr., a Democrat, won a seat from Maui in the Territorial House. (See subsection 4.26 below for David Trask, Jr.’s career and accomplishments.)

4.8

William Ha’eha’e Heen

William Ha‘eha‘e Heen (1883—1973) was an influential Honolulu attorney who worked with Matsujirō Ōtani to establish the modern fishing industry in Hawai‘i. (See subsection 3.58 in “Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.)

Heen’s father was a Chinese migrant worker, Chung Mook Heen (aka Harry A. Heen), “a mess boy on an American naval vessel who jumped ship here and married a Hawaiian woman” (Dye, “Long era of public duty by Heens comes to end”). William’s mother was Mary Helemika Keaukahalani Meheula of Maui. William was born in 1883, in Olowalu. He graduated from the University of California in 1904 and was admitted to the bar in Hawai‘i in 1905. He served as deputy county attorney from 1909 to 1915. In 1917, Democratic President Woodrow Wilson nominated him as a Circuit Court judge for the US Territory (“Heen, Walter H.”)

His appointment was opposed in the US Senate. According to “Ka Hookae Lahui” (“Despising the Hawaiian Race”), an article published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Puuhonua o na Hawai*i

(March, 30, 1917), “some [US] Senators believe that this blood [that is, Hawaiian-Chinese blood, Heen being hapa-paké, or half-Chinese] would not look well in a High Post in the Nation of the United States.” The *Puuhonua o na Hawaii* writer exclaims, “Kupaianaha!“ (“How Strange!”) and adds:

> What is wrong with the haole? This is proof of their racism towards other ethnicities. If America indeed goes to war with Germany, then what? Will they despise it if the Hapa-pake fight for the United States? These people take no notice of the intelligence of the Hawaiians, and see them as set apart; and this is truly a foolish thing—it demeans the name of the Hawaiian Lahui. (Translated by a blogger at https://nupepa-hawaii.com/2017/03/30/.)

Despite the opposition of some Senators (it’s not clear whether they objected to his Hawaiian or Chinese blood, or both), Heen was approved and served as a Circuit Court judge until 1919, when he ran for and was elected County Attorney [Loio Kalana] for Honolulu. On June 6, 1919, the Hawaiian newspaper *Kuokoa* reported on its front page the victory of the Lunakanawai [Judge] Heen, who was “elected as Loio Kalana for the City and County of Honolulu, and Arthur M. Brown lost; we have gained someone who will sweep away the mules of the Chee-Fa [Kīpā] Banks of Honolulu.” (Chee-Fa was a Chinese gambling game.)

Heen served for five years as County Attorney before winning election to the Territorial Senate, where he served for thirty years, at times the only Democrat in that body (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, obituary, June 2, 1973, 12).

4.9

William Heen’s brother Ernest Nālani Heen (1895–1965), born in Lāhaina, attended the College of Hawai‘i (1912), which was originally the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, which was established in 1907, and in 1920 became the University of Hawai‘i. Heen graduated in 1917 and worked in China for seven years with the Standard Oil Company and the Orient Import and Export Company before returning to Hawai‘i in 1924. He began a political career as secretary to Mayor John Wilson. In 1932, he was elected as City Clerk and won re-election

five times, then was a member of the Territorial Senate from 1945 to 1948 and of the Honolulu Board of Supervisors from 1949 to 1950. In 1950, he lost an election for mayor to Wilson, then supported him and served as Director of Public Welfare until 1953. From 1959 to 1964, he served on the Honolulu City Council. He was also a real estate broker ("Rites Wednesday for Ernest Heen," 1965 newspaper clipping of his obituary, posted by Gloria Rodrigues at *Find a Grave*).

Ernest Heen's son Walter Meheula Heen (b. 1928) also had a long career as a Democratic politician. He served in the State legislature as a representative (1959–1964), then as a State Senator (1966–1968) and as a member the City Council of Honolulu (1969–1972). He was appointed as a judge in the State court systems from 1972 to 1978, then worked as United States Attorney for the District of Hawai'i from 1978 to 1994. In 1996, he became chair of the Democratic Party. Senator Inouye, in his 2001 speech to Congress, praises the judge's fifty years of service:

> Judge Heen's dedicated drive to build a better Hawaii was awakened as a law student at Georgetown University in the mid-1950s. [He graduated with a law degree in 1955.] The seeds of his commitment and service were planted in childhood by his father and his uncle, Ernest and William Heen, respectively,

Walter Meheula Heen (b. 1928)

> two patriarchs of social reform in plantation-era Hawaii. ...
>
> The "Democratic Revolution of 1954" was more than a headline or a slogan, it accurately conveyed the significant legislative agenda the new majority was committed to enact to affect fundamental changes to improve the social and economic character of the islands. Land reform, anti-trust, "Green Belt" land use, collective bargaining, and workers' compensation were to become the battle zones that would change the face of politics, legislation and the administration of justice across Hawaii. Walter Heen was on the front lines of those struggles. His cause, together with those whom he served, was to level the playing field of social and economic opportunities for all, regardless of race, class or religion. ("Judge Walter M. Heen--A Lifetime of Achievement," *Congressional Record*, Volume 147, 2001; pages 6494-6495)

After his service as Democratic Party chair, Heen was elected as a trustee of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (2006–2010).

Ernest Heen's second son, Ernest Nalani Heen, Jr. (1930-2013), also served in the House of Representatives, representing Windward Oʻahu. He is remembered for his support of State's Temporary Disability Insurance Program. He learned real estate development and sales from his father and developed subdivisions in Kāneʻohe for middle-class families of all ethnicities—Pikoiloa, Kapunahala (where my parents bought a house), and Aikahi Park, after which he was hired to oversee the development of ʻĀhuimanu Valley for Kaneohe Ranch, Ltd. ("Ernest Nalani Heen, Jr., 'Juggie,'" *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, obituary July 30, 2013).

4.10

In 1956, Democratic Party chair John A. Burns won Hawaiʻi's only non-voting Congressional seat. He was the first Democrat to serve in that office since Lincoln McCandless in the early 1930s. After Burns' victory, William S. Richardson (1919–2010), of Hawaiian, Chinese, and Caucasian ancestry, became the chair of the Democratic Party, from 1956 to 1962. His grandfather Colonel John Keone Likikine Richardson was a judge and a counsel to Queen Lili'uokalani and opposed the overthrow of the Monarchy.

The Colonel's grandson William was raised in a working-class family

in the multiethnic Honolulu neighborhoods of Pālama and Kaimukī. As a boy, Richardson delivered newspapers and picked pineapples; his family was too poor to send him to Kamehameha Schools, the private school established for Hawaiian children by the Princess Pauahi Bishop, so he graduated from the so-called "English Standard School" Roosevelt High, which was established to educate those who passed a "Standard English" test to prove that they didn't speak only the pidgin that was spoken by most of the children of plantation workers. In 1943, William graduated from the University of Cincinnati law school, then volunteered for the US Army and saw combat as a platoon leader with the 1st Filipino Infantry Regiment, which was sent into combat against the Japanese Army in the Philippines in 1945.

As Congressional delegate from 1957 to 1959, Burns led the Democratic Party push for Statehood. Statehood was proposed by the Republican Territorial delegate Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaole in the 1920s, as a way to give Hawaiians more political control over governance of the US Territory; at the time Hawaiians were the largest voting block. The multiethnic Democratic Party advocated Statehood in the 1940s and 50s, although now Hawaiians weren't the largest voting block. The Party leaders knew that Statehood would bring influx of American and global investment capital and federal funding for its military bases and other programs that would fuel economic growth and land development. Singh and MacGregor note that after the war, "Hawai'i's political economy shifted from one based on agribusiness and the military to tourism, real estate development, and an expansive military economy all tied to global capital" ("Rethinking Asian Settler Colonialism: A Historical Perspective of Hawai'i Asians on Indigenous Lands" 597).

4.11

The White-owned corporations known as the Big Five and their Republican Party joined the Democrats in the push for Statehood, hoping to continue their dominance of Hawai'i's economy as it prospered after Statehood. The Statehood Act came up for a referendum vote in 1959. Of the 174,335 registered voters in Hawai'i, 140,744, or 76% voted; of those that voted, 132,733, or 94%, voted for Statehood; 7,971, or 6%, voted against it; 33,591, or 19%, didn't vote (Schmitt, "Table 24.5 Votes Cast in Major Plebiscites, 1873 to 1959," *Historical*

Statistics of Hawaii 602).

In “Colliding Histories: Hawai‘i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians ‘Ineligible to Citizenship’ and Hawaiians ‘Unfit for Self-Government,’” Fujikane’s brother and fellow Asian Settler Club member Dean Itsuji Saranillio, citing as his source Mililani Trask, complains that “the plebiscite [on Statehood] was written to limit the vote to either statehood or territorial status and did not include the United Nations’ mandated options for ‘independence’ or other ‘separate systems of self-government’” (286). However, M. Trask didn’t write that the vote was limited to “either statehood or territorial status,” only that independence or a “separate system of government” wasn’t a choice, so Hawaiians couldn’t vote for it.

The question on the Statehood referendum ballot was not an either/or choice, but a yes/no question “Shall Hawaii immediately be admitted into the Union as a State?” A “no” answer didn’t indicate a voter was for “territorial status,” only that the voter didn’t want Statehood “immediately.” Of the “no” voters and the non-voters, some, many, or all may have wanted an independent nation for Natives. There’s no way of knowing whether those who didn’t vote were purposeful abstentions to indicate opposition to Statehood and/or to support an independent Native nation; or if those voters didn’t vote due to lack of interest or neglect of civic duty, or were too sick or disabled, or too busy to vote. However, the “no” votes and the non-voters totaled 41,562, or 25% of the registered voters, a fairly significant number who didn’t vote for immediate Statehood. The majority (75%), however, did.

A Territorial-wide plebiscite wasn’t an appropriate vehicle to decide the political future of Natives anyway, because it wasn’t the kuleana (responsibility) of every voter in the Territory to decide that issue. That kuleana belonged only to the 102,403 Native Hawaiians, mixed and unmixed, who made up 16% of the population in 1960; the 530,369 Non-natives voters (84% of the population) had no kuleana in deciding the political future of Native Hawaiians.

4.12

One Native opponent of Statehood was Alice Kamokilaikawai Campbell (1884–1971), a Democratic legislator from Maui, known as Kamokila for short. Her father was James Campbell (1826–1900), an Irish-Scot immigrant who came to Hawai‘i in 1850 and got rich developing sugar plantations. He became one of the largest private landowners in the

Territory. He married a descendant of the Kalanikini line of Maui chiefs, Abigail Kuaihelani Maipinepine Bright (1859–1908), who after the overthrow of the Monarchy, led an organization of women that opposed annexation. James Campbell was a supporter of Queen Lili'uokalani at the time of her overthrow. When he passed away in 1900, he left behind a hefty estate for his children and descendants to share.

Campbell's daughter Kamokila served as a Territorial Senator from Maui from 1942 to 1946. She left the Democratic Party because of its support for Statehood. In "Colliding Histories,'" Saranillio describes Campbell's opposition to Statehood at a Congressional hearing held in Honolulu in 1946. Campbell attacked the greed of the Big Five for supporting Statehood for the economic benefits that they would reap from it, but she also bashed Japs, using the "Fear the Jap Takeover" rhetoric that echoed the rhetoric of White and Hawaiian Republican demagogues of the pre-war era.

Saranillio does his best to make it sound like Campbell had widespread support: "On the day of her testimony, Kamokila chose to wear a black holoku gown with red and yellow lei and spoke for more than two hours to thunderous applause in front of a packed room of more than 600" (299). I'm sure the applause of six hundred people packed into a relatively small hearing room might sound "thunderous," although Saranillio wasn't born yet and wasn't there to hear what the applause and doesn't describe the room; perhaps he read somewhere that the applause was "thunderous"; the 600 people applauding Campbell's speech represented 0.344% of the 174,335 registered voters.

Saranillio doesn't present data on how many Natives were for and against Statehood. In *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*, Kotani reports the results of a 1958 survey: "62 percent of the Japanese, 44 percent of the Chinese, 39 percent of the Filipinos, 33 percent of the Haoles, and 30 percent of the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians supported immediate statehood. In fact, only 43 percent of the sample supported immediate statehood" (161). The majority of Hawaiians, Whites, Filipinos, and Chinese opposed Statehood, perhaps reflecting their fear of a Jap takeover. The support of voters of Japanese ancestry, the largest group of voters in the Territory, no doubt reflected their enthusiasm for Statehood based on a belief that they would no longer face discrimination for their alleged loyalty to the Japanese emperor. A year later, when the referendum on Statehood was held, 75% of registered voters voted for Statehood, as noted above, so 32% of the

voters appeared to have changed their opinions from no to yes, in support of Statehood.

4.13

Although Jap plantation workers on Maui helped elect Kamokila Campbell to the Senate, she seemed to have resented having to "beg" for their votes. In "The Anti-Statehood Movement and the Legacy of Alice Kamokila Campbell," John S. Whitehead writes that at the Statehood hearing:

> [Campbell] testified that she "crawled" into a camp of AJA [Americans of Japanese Ancestry] workers on a plantation owned by the Baldwin family [of Maui]. A Japanese contractor there promised her 4,000 votes if she ran against the Baldwin candidate. Those votes were "produced," she noted, thus ensuring her election. (51)

Campbell claimed falsely at the hearing that local Japs had aided the Japanese Navy in the attack on Pearl Harbor, and that Japs started businesses in Hawai'i to "get a hold on the islands" (Saranillio 299). Didn't her immigrant father also start a business to "get a hold on the islands," exploiting cheap migrant labor, including Japs and Flips, and acquiring much more land than any Jap ever did, while creating the wealth of a trust fund that benefited Kamokila? (Nothing wrong with that; her father earned the money, and by marrying a woman of Hawaiian ancestry and having children with her, he was able to pass his land and wealth on to his Native descendants.)

Saranillio excuses Campbell's racist rant/cant because, he claims, like Trask and his sister Fujikane, Statehood was "a push for Japanese American ascendancy" (300). He adds, "Kamokila appealed to a long and well-established fear among many white Americans that Japanese Americans were perpetual foreign threats" (301). It wasn't only some Whites who thought that Japs were "perpetual foreign threats"; Native Hawaiians like Kamokila Campbell also believed that, as did other ethnic groups, including Chinese and Filipinos, whose ancestral homelands had been invaded and occupied by Japanese military forces.

4.14

When asked what she wanted as an alternative to Statehood, Kamokila

Campbell answered "an independent form of government" (Saranillio 299), foreshadowing the sovereignty initiative of the Trask sisters and others. Campbell asserted that voters should not forfeit "the traditional rights and privileges of the natives of our islands for a mere thimbleful of votes in Congress, that we, the lovers of Hawai'i from long association with it should sacrifice our birthright for the greed of alien desires to remain on our shores" (298). Perhaps she forgot that Hawaiians had already loss their "traditional rights and privileges" (as well as their lands and sovereignty) when the Kingdom was overthrown in 1893, and the "greedy aliens," both White and those of Asian ancestry, were born as citizens "on our shores" and already had the right to reside here and buy land.

Among her earlier proposals for "independence" was one that Saranillio reports "many considered to be political suicide":

> She sought Congressman Sterling Cole of New York to sponsor a bill that would transfer Hawai'i from the Department of the Interior to the naval department. After visits to Guam and Samoa, Kamokila reasoned that because Hawaiians were unable to control immigration into Hawai'i, naval control would actually limit the flow of immigration (as it had in Guam) and prohibit nonnatives from owning land (as it did in American Samoa). (298)

"Kamokila *reasoned*"? Perhaps "Kamokila asserted" would be more accurate. The naval department had no control over immigration in Hawai'i. Congress controlled immigration and had already banned Japanese immigration in 1924; the ban was lifted after the war in 1952, but not many Japanese were interested in coming to the US, except for the thousands of Japanese women who married US soldiers during the post-war Occupation. Filipino immigration was limited to 50 laborers in 1935, but was opened again during World War II for workers and their families because the Philippines was an ally of the US in the war against Japan.

Nor could the Department of Navy prevent "nonnatives from owning land" in Hawai'i. The Territory controlled land sales and allowed citizens, resident aliens, and foreigners to buy land. The "greedy aliens" could "get a hold of" some land if they had the money to buy it, just as her immigrant father did during the Kingdom of Hawai'i. In American Sāmoa, the Native chiefs retained control of land

sales under the treaty they signed ceding their islands to the US in 1900. The treaty prohibited Non-natives from buying freehold land without the approval of the government.

According to Whitehead, Kamokila Campbell's opposition to Statehood may have contributed to her election losses in 1948, 1954, and 1958 (53). Perhaps her Jap-bashing also contributed to her loss. Probably not many, if any, unionized Jap plantation workers voted for her in those elections.

4.15

In 1959, after Statehood, the Governor and Lt. Governor became elective offices, along with two US Senate seats, and two seats in the House of Representative. (The four Congressional seats are what Kamokila Campbell refers to as "a mere thimbleful of votes in Congress.")

In 1960, Burns lost the first gubernatorial election to Republican William F. Quinn, the last federally appointed Governor of the US Territory (1957–1959). After Quinn's two-year term ended in 1962, Burns beat Quinn for a four-year term as Governor and served two more terms, until 1974. In 1960, Democratic Party chair William Richardson was elected as Burns' Lieutenant Governor. When we visited my father's family restaurant on Maui the summer before the election, campaign posters for Burns and Richardson were plastered on the walls of the porch that faced the street, across from the pineapple cannery.

William S. Richardson (1919–2010)

In 1966, Burns nominated Lt. Governor Richardson to be Chief Justice of the Hawai'i State Supreme Court. Richardson became the first Native Hawaiian Chief Justice since Kamehameha III, who held the position from 1840 to 1848. Richardson served as Chief Justice until 1983. The Law School at the University of Hawai'i is named after him. During his tenure, the Richardson Court upheld traditional

Hawaiian laws on access to kuleana lands; established the public's right to limit or prohibit commercial development to protect specially designated areas; the public's right to access beaches and coastlines through private land; and the public's ownership of water rights and of new land created by volcanic lava flows ("William S. Richardson," *Kia'i Throughout History*, posted at the website for 'Āina Momona).

In 1983, Richardson was appointed by the Supreme Court to the Board of Trustees of the Princess Pauahi Bishop Estate, the State's largest private landowner, with "341,000 acres, 9 percent of all the land in Hawaii" (Turner, "Hawaii Trust Wields Unusual Power"). The trust was established by Princess Pauahi Pākī (1831–1884), the last heir of the Kamehameha family, for the education of Hawaiian children.

Princess Pauahi married White banker Charles S. Bishop, who founded what is today the First Hawaiian Bank. Her estate and trust is commonly known as the Bishop Estate or the Bishop Trust; I refer to it as the "Pauahi Estate" since it was Princess' will and lands, not her husband's, that are the foundation of the Estate. To fulfill its mission, the Pauahi Trust established Kamehameha Schools—a school for boys in 1887 and a school for girls in 1894. Today the Schools overlook Honolulu, atop Kapālama Heights. Although Richardson's family was too poor to send him to Kamehameha Schools, he told *New York Times* reporter Wallace Turner that he took the job as estate trustee because he wanted "to educate those children at Kamehameha School[s] and to finish the job of bringing the Hawaiian people back to their proper position here through education" ("Hawaii Trust Wields Unusual Power").

4.16

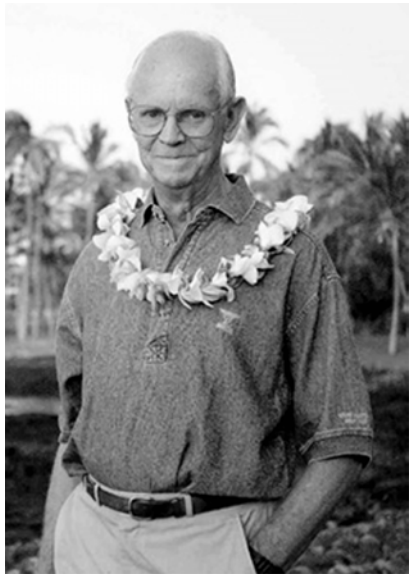
After Richardson became Chief Justice in 1966, Burns' choice for a Lieutenant Governor was Kenneth Francis Kamu'o-o-kalani Brown (1919–2014), a descendant of a chiefly family who served as personal attendants to the Kamehameha Kings.

A graduate of Princeton University, Brown left the Republican Party of his family and joined Burns and the Democrats. Burns hoped that Brown would follow him as the next governor. When Brown lost the primary election race for Lt. Governor to fellow Democrat Tom Gill, Burns appointed Brown as a special assistant. In the next election, Brown was elected as a Democrat to the State Senate and served from 1968–1974. During his tenure, he promoted a social and environmental

vision based on the Hawaiian value of mālama, "to care for and protect." On July 25, 1973, on the Senate floor at the State Capitol, Brown delivered a speech articulating his vision for Hawai'i:

> All of man's acts in Hawai'i must be dominated by the spirit of "mālama" …. It is applicable to our entire lives in Hawai'i. It is applicable to all our transactions with each other, to all of our transactions with the overseas world, and to all of the transactions between society and nature. Each of these transactions must meet the test of mālama at all times, without exception.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Brown served as chair of Queen's Health System, the largest health provider and second largest employer in the State after the State government. Queen's Hospital was founded by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma in 1859 to provide health care for Native Hawaiians and to help increase the Native population. Brown supported preventive medicine, but also Native Hawaiian cultural and social programs because he had a holistic view of health and believed that a strong Native culture and community were essential to Native physical, mental, and spiritual well-being.



Kenneth Francis Kamu'o-o-kalani Brown (1919 –2014),

Burns' strategy in selecting two prominent Native politicians, Richardson and Brown, for his running mates in 1962 and 1966 was to draw more Native voters into the party, particularly middle class and upper class Natives. The voters of Japanese ancestry were already solidly behind the Democrats.

4.17

The government controlled by the Democratic Party reflected the

"power-sharing" that Trask rejects as a political strategy for Natives. Burns was followed by a series of Democratic governors from Non-white ethnic groups. The first Japanese American governor was Burns' third Lt. Governor, George Ariyoshi, who served as governor for three terms, from 1974 to 1986. The first Governor of Hawaiian ancestry, John Waihe'e, was elected next, serving from 1986 to 1994, after a two-term limit was placed on the office. The first governor of Filipino ancestry, Ben Cayetano, served for two terms, from 1994 to 2002.

The State Senate presidents from 1960 to the 1990s included one White Republican, William H. Hill (1959–1962); two Japanese American Democrats, Nelson K. Doi (1963–1964) and Kazuhisa Abe (1965–1966); two White Democrats, John J. Hulten (1967–1968) and David C. McClung (1969–1974); John T. Ushijima, another Japanese American Democrat (1975–1978); and Chinese-Hawaiian Richard S. H. Wong, who became the longest serving Senate President, holding the position from 1979 to 1992. In 1993, he was appointed as a trustee of the Pauahi Estate.

The speakers of the House of Representatives from 1959 to the 1990s were all Democrats of various ethnic backgrounds: Elmer F. Cravalho, of Portuguese ancestry, held the speakership from 1959 to 1967, after which he was elected the first major of Maui; two Japanese Americans, Tadao Beppu (1968–1974) and James H. Wakatsuki (1975–1980) followed; then Native Hawaiian Henry Ha'alilio Peters, from 1981–1986, after which he was appointed as a trustee of the Pauahi Estate. Japanese American Richard Kawakami died in office of a heart attack in 1987, in his first year; he was replaced by Emilio Alcon, a legislator of Filipino ancestry, then by another legislator of Filipino ancestry, Daniel J. Kihano (1987–1992).

4.18

While only one politician of Japanese ancestry served as governor during the forty-year period from 1962–2002, by 1966 the four members of Hawai'i Congressional delegation were of Asian ancestry. The first was Republican of Chinese ancestry Hiram Fong, who served as US Senator from 1959 to 1977. The other three members were of Japanese ancestry—Daniel Inouye served in the House of Representative from 1959 to 1963, then the Senate, from 1963 to 2012; Spark Matsunaga served in the House of Representatives, from 1963 to 1977, then the

Senate from 1977 to 1990; and Patsy Takemoto (Mink) served in the House of Representatives from 1965 to 1977 and from 1990 to 2002.

Senator Inouye is remembered for milking the federal cow for

Hawai'i Nisei Congressional delegates in 1966 with President Lyndon B. Johnson and Governor John A. Burns between them: on the left, Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Takemoto Mink and on the right, Dan Inouye.

Native Hawaiian programs and supporting bills that enhanced the life of the working class, like one that provided "an additional 20 working days vacation a year for federal civil service seamen."

When Matsunaga won a US Senate seat in 1976, Hawaiian Daniel Akaka ran for his seat in the US House and won, the first Hawaiian Congressional delegate since Samuel Wilder King, who had served as the non-voting Territorial delegate from 1935 to 1943. After Matsunaga's unexpected death in 1990, Governor John Waihe'e appointed Akaka to fill the seat temporarily. Akaka ran to serve the last four years of the Matsunaga's six-year term and won. He remained in the US Senate until 2013, when he retired.

As noted in subsection 4.2 above, Senator Akaka sponsored various bills to create a legal framework for a sovereign Hawaiian government within the US, but the bills failed to pass Congress. During this period, the Trask sisters were actively advocating for Ka Lāhui, and Fujikane was actively promoting her myth of Asian Settler Colonialism.

"Accompanied by officials of the Military Sea Transport Union, U.S. Sen. Daniel K. Inouye, center, tastes soup served on the research vessel Shearwater at Pier 40." "Back in the Day Photo (11/01/1966)" reprinted in the *Star-Advertiser*, Oct. 19, 2024.

4.19

Patsy Takemoto (1927–2002) was the most accomplished female politician of the post-war era in Hawai‘i. As a member of the US House Representative, she fought fiercely against the Vietnam War and for racial and gender equality in education. Far more liberal (i.e., to the Left) than most of her colleagues, she was called by White conservatives in Hawai‘i and America "Pink," which rhymes with her married name "Mink" and alludes to "Pinko," a pejorative 1950s term for Communists or Communist sympathizers (or anyone with liberal views).

In 2018, Mink was honored with a statue in front of the State Library in downtown Honolulu for her contributions to the people of Hawai‘i and America.

Inscribed on that plaque next to the statue is a quotation from one of her speeches: "To whatever degree each of you here today acknowledge a sense of individual responsibility for the common good and for the welfare of others less fortunate than you, I urge you not to lose it, to

cherish it and to make that sense of purpose your higher goal for life so as to give it great dimension and meaning."

When I walk pass the statue, I think of Mom, who in the 1950s drove her children on weekends twelve miles from Kāne‘ohe through the Pali Tunnel to the State Library to encourage us to read by letting us browse to find books of interest in the Edna Allyn Room for Children. In 1963, a regional branch library opened in Kāne‘ohe, and we went there after that, unless we needed to do research in the larger collection of materials at the downtown library.

A statue of Patsy Takemoto Mink welcomes visitors to the Hawai‘i State Library.

Mom met Patsy Takemoto when they were freshmen at the UH in 1944 and worked together on the Victory committee of the Associated Students of the University of Hawai‘i (ASUH), selling bonds to support the US war effort against Japan. Takemoto was valedictorian and student body president of Maui High when she graduated in 1944 with my dad, who was a halfback on the football team and made the Maui all-star team that year. Takemoto credited her election as student body president to the support of the football team. In 1948 Mom and Takemoto graduated from the UH together, Mom with a BS in dietetics and Takemoto with a BS in zoology and chemistry, with a goal of obtaining a degree in medicine and becoming a doctor.

Takemoto applied to medical schools on the continent, but despite her outstanding grades and extracurricular activities (president of the Pre-Medicine Students Club, member of the varsity debate team), she was rejected by all of them because of her gender. The medical profession was traditionally for males only. She applied to law school at the University of Chicago and was admitted under the school's international quota for foreigners, even though she was a US citizen. Two decades before Takemoto applied for law school, Talbott reported in "Americanization of Japanese in Hawaii" (1926) that Nisei from Hawai'i "are treated as aliens when they want to enter the United States mainland, even for the purpose of attending institutions of higher learning" (45–46). Takemoto was one of two women in her law school class and one of two students of Asian ancestry.

Takemoto graduated with a law degree in 1951; that year she married John Mink, a graduate student in geology. After they returned to Hawai'i, she ran for office, determined to change the social and political status quo for women in Hawai'i and America. In 1956, she became the first woman of Japanese ancestry to win a seat in the Territorial House. In 1958, she was the first woman elected to the Territorial Senate. In 1964, she ran for the US House of Representatives and won, becoming the first Non-white woman to serve in the US Congress. Mom joined Patsy's campaign committee and recruited Dad, my brother, and me to go door-to-door to pass out campaign brochures; later, Mom served as Patsy's campaign treasurer. Patsy's campaign brochure highlighted her background as Local Girl, Attorney-at-Law, Active Democrat, and Housewife and Mother.

Under "Local Girl," she described herself as "Third generation American of Japanese ancestry, born and educated on Maui, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Suematsu Takemoto of Honolulu, graduate of the University of Hawaii, 1948." She was Sansei rather than Nisei like most of the other politicians of Japanese ancestry in post-war Hawai'i. Her maternal grandfather, Gojiro Tateyama, emigrated as a contract laborer in 1899, but deserted the plantation before his contract was up and settled under the alias Tokunaga in Waikamoi, a remote area on the north shore of Maui, with his partner, Tsuru, who left her husband, an abusive drunk with whom she had emigrated in 1898. Gojiro and Tsuru started their life together living in a tent and a shack on the bank of Waikamoi Stream three miles from the nearest road and grew vegetables and gathered wild fruits, bamboo shoots, and edible ferns in

My Background
Local Girl
Third generation American of Japanese ancestry, born and educated on Maui, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Suematsu Takemoto of Honolulu, graduate of the University of Hawaii, 1948;
Attorney-at-Law
In private practice, graduate of the University of Chicago Law School, 1951; first and only woman of Japanese ancestry to be admitted to practice before the courts of the Territory; secretary of the Junior Bar Association; attorney for the House of Representatives 1955 session; lecturer in Business Law at the University of Hawaii, 1952-56;
Active Democrat
On precinct, county and territorial levels; chairman of the Young Democratic Club of Oahu county 1954-56; Temporary chairman of the Territorial Young Democratic Clubs of Hawaii;
Housewife and Mother
Husband, John F. Mink, geologist; daughter Gwendolyn, age four years, attending Palama Settlement Pre-School.
VOTE
Patsy Takemoto
MINK
REPRESENTATIVE 5TH DISTRICT
THINK VOTE MINK
DEMOCRAT

Patsy Takemoto Mink's Campaign Brochure, 1964

the rain forest.

Patsy's father, orphaned as a child, graduated in 1922 from the University of Hawai'i, the first student of Japanese ancestry to acquire a degree in civil engineering from there. Patsy, whose parents spoke English, was able to get into an English Standard elementary school on Maui, in Spreckelsville, where 95% of the students and all the teachers were white. (Before I researched her life story, I wondered how she was able to speak more like a haole than other Nisei. And it didn't sound like she was faking it; it sounded like she grew up speaking that way. For a detailed biography of Patsy, see sections 6–8, in "1.3. "University of Hawai'i Days, 1944–1948," in *The Life and Times of Matsuko "Mitzi" Kawaharada*.)

4.20

Trask acknowledges that "the best educated and articulate" Natives "benefit[ed] from the triumph of the Democratic Party" (3), but she was critical of those who joined the Party, participated in politics in the Settler State, and didn't support sovereignty, calling them members of

the "bourgeoisie":

> Hawaiians, like most colonized peoples, have a national bourgeoisie, that is, a class that ascends due to collaboration with the state and federal governments. This class serves to counter indigenous nationalist positions" (21). ["Bourgeoisie" is a nineteenth-century Marxist term referring to capitalists who control wealth and means of production, as opposed to the working class; but the word has also acquired a broader meaning, referring to members of a materialistic middle class.]

That the Native "bourgeoisie" didn't support the sovereignty movement suggests that they thought that Natives would do better under the state and federal governments. It wasn't just "the best educated and articulate" Natives, like David Trask, Jr., Walter Meheula Heen, Ernest Nalani Heen, Jr., William S. Richardson, and Kenneth Francis Kamu'o-o-kalani Brown who supported Statehood and benefited from the post-war Democratic Party takeover. Working-class Hawaiians also improved their political and economic status, along with workers of other ethnicities. The working class ascendancy began during the 1930s, 40s, and 50s when workers established multiethnic labor unions. The Japanese strike of 1909 and the Filipino-Japanese strike of 1920 were broken by the White plantation owners using scabs from other ethnic groups, so getting the workers from different ethnicities to unite became the strategy for union success. The multiethnic unions, not Nisei politicians or the Native "bourgeoisie," formed the core of the Democratic Party and drove its takeover of the State government.

The first legally recognized union, the multiethnic Hilo Longshoremen's Association (HLA), was founded in 1935 by Chinese-Hawaiian Harry Kamoku (1905–1957). By 1937, his longshoremen had also helped other workers organize unions in Hilo—store clerks, laundry workers, railroad workers, garage workers, transportation teamsters, electric company employees, and canec plant workers (Puette, *The Hilo Massacre: Hawaii's Bloody Monday, August 1st, 1938*. Canec was a fiberboard building material made from sugar cane stalks after the stalks were pressed for their sap from which sugar was crystallized.) National unions also sent agents to Hawai'i to organize workers, for example, the Inland Boatmen's Union (IBU), the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU), and the Metal Trades Council (MTC).

Harry Kamoku (second from right) leading his longshoremen's union in a picket. (Screen capture from "Part I: Harry Lehua Kamoku: The Legend Returns," *Center for Labor Education and Research* [CLEAR], YouTube).

In 1938, the IBU, ILWU, and MTC went on strike against the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., operated by Matson, Inc. and Castle and Cooke, one of the Big Five companies. Inter-Island Steam transported goods, people, and mail among the islands. When the Hilo unions heard that Inter-Island Steam was going to dock a ship at Hilo Harbor, Kamoku's HLA and the other Hilo unions organized a demonstration in support of the striking Honolulu unions. The HLA and its supporters marched to the dock, led by Kamoku and his cousin Isaac "Chicken" Kamoku, David "Red" Kupukaa, and Raymond Namau, singing "The more we get together, the better we'll be." Public safety officers had assembled to "control" the demonstration. Their leaders were Hawaiian, as was the fire department chief Johnson Kahili, uncle of the two Kamoku cousins, who brought a fire truck and hoses to repulse the strikers with seawater if necessary.

The public safety officers fired tear gas to turn back the demonstrators; the demonstrators dispersed, regrouped, then moved forward again.

After the demonstrators crossed a yellow line set up by the police, part-Hawaiian police lieutenant Charles Warren approached the crowd,

On the morning of August 1, 1938, Kamoku's longshoremen and supporters displayed their union signs in front of "the Block" on Silva Street (where the union once held meetings) before marching to the dock (Photo from the Hawai'i State Archives)

The front line of the demonstrators as they sat down around the fire truck in front of Pier 2, Hilo Harbor. Sgt Wm. Roy is standing on the left. Longshoreman Raymond Namau, suffering from tear gas fired at the demonstrators, appears coughing into his handkerchief in the front row, next to the "CIO PICKET" sign. The women in the white cuffed dresses were union members from the White Star Laundry (Hawai'i State Archives)

which was peaceful, but taunting. Warren's father "had been a servant to King Kalakaua, a member of the provisional troops that overthrew the monarchy, and a police captain before [Charles]." He slapped Nisei longshoreman Kaichi "Kai" Urutani on the side of the face with his bayonet, then stabbed him under the arm. Then he stabbed Tony Moniz in the leg. When David "Red" Kupukaa came to help his two fallen comrades, Warren whacked him in the jaw with the butt of his rifle and knocked him over. Someone, probably the Sheriff in charge, ordered the officers to open fire. The Sheriff had ordered his men to load birdshot, but not everyone got the word, so rounds of buckshot were also fired. Fifty were wounded, including two women and two children. The strike against the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company was eventually broken with scabs, and the unions made no gains. Warren became known as "Tear-gas Warren" (Puette, *The Hilo Massacre*).

Women workers of the Hilo Longshoremen's Auxiliary, mainly Hawaiian, but multiethnic, in front of the union office in Waiākea. Seven of the eight women participated in the demonstration on August 1, 1938, at Pier 2, Hilo Harbor. Left to right: Anna Kamahele, Mary Kenoi, Lee Kaneao, Violet Otake, Hannah Ho'okano, Alice Martin, Lorvana Jamito, and Margaret Aki. (*Voice of Labor*, June 17, 1937, p.3, posted in Puette, *The Hilo Massacre*).

4.21

The president of the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) in Honolulu was Nisei Jack Kawano (1911–1984). Kawano

grew up in Kapoho on the Big Island. After he finished the seventh grade, the principal told him that if he wanted to complete his schooling up to the eighth grade (when he would be over the compulsory school age of 15), he had to take classes in summer school. Jack's father, an Issei who came to Hawai'i as a contract laborer, told the principal, "if our boy is that stupid, he should not go to school any more" (Takagi-Kitayama 51).

The Kawano family, with five children, didn't need an able-bodied adolescent at home consuming food and reading books and writing essays during the summer. Summer school would cost the family money, and families on the plantations wanted their able-bodied children to get summer jobs to help the family with additional income; or if children were old enough, they could move out and earn money to support themselves.

Around 1925, at fourteen, Jack went to work for a sugar plantation in Hakalau, just north of Hilo. He spread fertilizer, cut cane, flumed harvested cane stalks to the mills, and cut grass; he ended up working in the mill, with higher pay, $29 a month, but when he asked for a raise

Jack Kawano, ILWU president in Honolulu (right), at a meeting with Harry Kamoku, head of the Hilo Longshoremen's Association (center)

equal to what a sugar boiler was making ($45 a month, or $16 more per month than he was making), the manager offered him a $1 per month raise. He quit and went to Hilo, where he worked as a truck driver's helper, then moved to Lāna‘i to work as a truck driver. In the 1930s, he moved to Honolulu where he dug cesspools and built stonewalls, then worked as a stevedore at the Castle and Cooke Terminal in Honolulu Harbor (Kotani 126; Zalburg, *A Spark is Struck!* 17). Kawano heard from fellow workers about the successes of unions like the ILWU on the West Coast in improving wages and working conditions, so he began organizing the dockworkers with Fred Kamahoahoa ("History," *ILWU Local 142 Hawaii* website; Zalburg 17–18).

During World War II, the US military barred Kawano and other Japs from the docks, fearful that they might blow up the ammunition being shipped in from the continent. Strikes for higher wages were also on hold because of a wage freeze imposed by the Military Governor's office. Big Island labor organizer Bert Nakano, one of the strikers hit by buckshot during the Hilo demonstration in 1938, asked Kawano for help in organizing Big Island plantation workers. Kawano sent a multiethnic team of eight members of the ILWU Executive Board to do the recruiting—Simeon Bagasol, Joe "Blurr" Kealalio, John Elias, Yoroku Fukuda, Ben Kahaawinui, William Paaoaoa, James Tanaka, and Jack Osakoda (Zalberg 87). Fred Kamahoahoa also joined the team.

The White West Coast ILWU leadership didn't think trying to organize the plantations would be worth the effort. Jack Hall, who came to Hawai‘i from the West Coast in 1935, told Kawano "nobody can organize the plantations, and the best thing for you to do is to forget it"; Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, also wasn't interested (Takagi-Kitayama 59).

Kawano told plantation workers at ‘Ōla‘a, south of Hilo:

> If you enter into the ILWU, you'll get support from the railroad workers [who transported raw sugar from mills to docks], the dock workers [who loaded raw sugar onto ships], and even in the refinery [in Crocket, CA]. You will have a connecting link from the sugar producers right up to the refinery. The ILWU will organize everybody from top to bottom. We don't discriminate against any trade (Zalburg 86.)

In January 1944, the ILWU had 970 members; one year later, membership had grown to 6,610. Although Kawano initiated and

implemented the recruitment of new members, he was a Jap, which, according to the White ILWU leadership, was a handicap because America was at war with Japan, so in 1944, Jack Hall was appointed regional director in charge of Hawai‘i (Takagi-Kitayama 60).

4.22

In spring 1945, the legislature passed the Hawaii Employment Relations Act, which gave collective bargaining rights to agricultural labor. Hawaii's sugar workers were organized by the ILWU Local 142 in Honolulu. After the Big Island, the union organized plantation workers on Maui, then O‘ahu and Kaua‘i.

According to the Center for Labor Education & Research," in 1946, over 100,000 people, one-fifth of Hawai‘i's population, lived and worked on sugar and pineapple plantations. In 1946, the sugar workers went on strike and won wage increases for its 28,000 workers and their 47,000 family members. Before the strike, the workers earned 24 cents an hour from sugar and pineapple companies that made $160 million annually. The strike resulted in an increase to 31.5 cents per hour for the sugar workers—a 31% raise. The year after, 20,000 pineapple plantation workers joined the ILWU.

One issue that the unions needed to address was the lingering animosity among the various ethnic groups that the ILWU brought together—workers of Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino ancestries. The ILWU directed that "a strict proportional division of leadership" be made "among representatives of the different ethic groups on the plantations" (Kotani 132).

A lingering nostalgia that some locals feel today for the "plantation days of Old Hawai‘i" is perhaps based on memories of the post-war period after multiethnic union strikes won higher wages and better living conditions for the workers. Forgotten are the days of the nineteenth-century, before the unions, when Japanese contract laborers viewed the plantation bosses as devils, and the plantations as Hell; or the 1930s, when Murayama described the plantation camp where he grew up as an "icky shit-hole" from which he was determined to escape.

4.23

Kawano helped recruit union workers for the Democratic Party; he "participated in the Democratic Party organizing because he agreed

with the Democrats' slogan, 'the Democratic Party is the party of the working man'" (Takagi-Kitayama 62). He knew that besides higher wages negotiated with employers under threat of strikes, the workers also needed legislative actions for laws establishing benefits like minimum wages, workers' compensation, unemployment insurance, vacation and sick leave, health insurance, and so on.

During the war, Kawano was invited to join the Emergency Service Committee (ESC), formed under the Morale Committee established by the Military Governor, as a liaison to the community of Japanese ancestry (Nakamura, "Morale Committees"). He also joined a so-called "Coffee Drinking Group," which began discussion of the political future of the state. The group included future chair of the Democratic Party and future first Democratic governor John A. Burns, and "Ernest Murai (a Nisei dentist), Mitsuyuki Kido (a Nisei former public school teacher) from the ESC, and … Chuck Mau, a second-generation Chinese American politician" (Takagi-Kitayama 60). Takagi-Kitayama reports the results of their discussions:

> In the 1946 election campaign Kawano supported Mitsuyuki Kido, a member of the Coffee Drinking Group, in the election for the Territorial House. In addition to his numerous contacts among former Farrington High School students, Kido had the whole-hearted support of labor leader Kawano. …. Kido won. In the 1946 election Kido was one of 14 successful Democratic candidates who had been endorsed by labor's Political Action Committee (PAC). Another election was coming in 1948. The ILWU Regional Director Jack Hall advised union members to be active in precinct work and seek election as party officials in 1947, in order to elect labor candidates in the 1948 election (62).

4.24

After the successful 1946 ILWU strike, strikes continued into the fifties. In 1947, over 18,000 ILWU pineapple workers went on strike. In 1948, electricians, transit workers, telephone workers, and sugar workers on ‘Ōla‘a plantation on the Big Island struck. In 1949, the ILWU dock workers struck, shutting down shipping to Hawai‘i for almost six months, until the local workers won wage parity with dock workers who worked for the same company on the West Coast (Center for Labor Education & Research, "CLEAR Timeline of Hawai‘i Labor History.")

In 1951, striking bus drivers won a major wage increase. That same year, eight hundred pineapple workers on Lānaʻi led by Pedro de la Cruz went on strike at Hawaiian Pineapple Co. (Dole), the largest pineapple plantation in the world; they won "a 15 cent wage increase for themselves (3 cents more than they asked for) and a seven-cent an hour increase at 7 companies for 9,000 workers industry-wide[,] in addition to union recognition, union shop and job seniority" (Center for Labor Education & Research, "CLEAR Timeline of Hawaiʻi Labor History.")

Pedro de la Cruz with the Lānaʻi pineapple workers

In 1951, Art Rutledge, a union organizer from the West Coast, established Unity House in Honolulu, a jointly funded association of teamsters, hotel workers, and transit workers to support labor interests and striking workers; that year the bus drivers "won a major increase" from Honolulu Rapid Transit (Center for Labor Education & Research,

"CLEAR Timeline of Hawai'i Labor History").

4.25

During the 1950s, the Big Five engaged in "Red-baiting"—harassment of people believed to have Communist sympathies. In 1951, seven union leaders and supporters, including ILWU's Jack Hall, were arrested, allegedly for sedition. In 1953, they were convicted of being Communists attempting to overthrow the Territorial government. Jack Kawano broke from the Communist Party and was considered a union traitor for testifying about Communist Party activity in the ILWU. Before he testified, Jack Hall came to visit him and threatened him: "As soon as you testify, your name will be mud and we're going to blast you. We have all the money in the world to do this and the personnel. You're going to be in a hell of a fix" (Kotani 134). Later Hall made one last effort to persuade a recalcitrant Kawano not to testify, but failed. They parted with Hall telling Kawano, "You're a traitor to the cause"; Kawano retorted, "You're a traitor to your country" (Kotani 135).

Their division was not just about cause and country, but symptomatic of the distrust that some locals had for the White West Coast union leadership. Kotani writes:

> The attitude of Hall and other malihini Haoles [recently arrived Whites] alienated several Nisei union leaders. According to Communist Party member and labor organizer Noboru Furuya, Jack Hall was a man with a "one-track mind" who insisted that "[h]is own ideals be followed by the rest." (137-138)

Big Island ILWU leader Saburo Fujisaki reported to the West Coast headquarters that the "dictatorial and fascistic practices" of International representative Frank Thompson "were undermining the union" (Kotani 138). Another rap on the White West Coast leaders was that they came to Hawai'i and drank excessively; the local Nisei leaders had to "dig up the booze," although they didn't join the drinking (Kotani 138). When I was growing up, the rap on White transients from the continent was that they would come to parties empty handed, but ate and drank a lot, believing that locals provided the food and drinks because they liked their guests so much, whereas the locals saw them as sponges.

When Thompson heard a rumor that five Nisei leaders advocated that he be removed from his position, he called one of them "too

cocky for his own good" and another one, "awfully stubborn and dumb-acting" (138). Thompson perhaps didn't realize that when locals were "acting dumb," there was a reason behind it, like they didn't want to tell someone to his face that what the person wanted to do was a dumb idea.

After Kawano's testimony led to the conviction of the "Hawaii Seven" for sedition in 1953, he left the islands and spent the rest of his life in California (Takagi-Kitayama 65). In the end, he believed in Democracy, not Communism. The convictions of the "Hawaii Seven" were overturned in 1955, when the Supreme Court ruled that promoting Communist beliefs didn't constitute a conspiracy to overthrow the US government by force.

4.26

In the end, the unions, including the ILWU, believed in what Kawano believed, not what Hall believed. The unions voted for politicians in the Democratic Party because the Party passed legislation to promote and protect the interests of the working class against employers like the Big Five. The 1954 election victory of the Democratic Party was a victory for workers and unions over the Big Five and the White Republican Party that had ruled the US Territory for its first fifty years. The "ascendancy" began before the 1954 election, and it was driven by a multiethnic coalition and the working-class, not by Nisei politicians. John Burns and the Democratic Party harnessed the political mobilization of the unions; Nisei politicians—war veterans and recent college graduates—jumped on the bandwagon.

In the early fifties, Haunani-Kay Trask's uncle David Trask, Jr. (1922–2016) served as Executive Secretary for the Maui division of the Hawaii Government Employees Association (HGEA) ("David K. Trask, Jr." in Puette, C.L.E.A.R. Guide to Hawai'i Labor History 11). HGEA was established in 1934 by Honolulu Board of Water Supply managerial employees, after the board cut their pay by 10 percent; the Maui division was organized in 1946. The HGEA avoided partisan politics for its first twenty years, but after "the Republican-dominated Legislature reduced government employee vacation and sick leave and downgraded salary rates and froze wages," the union woke up, began a voter registration drive, and joined the Democrats in the 1954 election. The Hawaii Times credited the Democratic Party takeover to the 9,200

David Trask, Jr. (1922–2016), who was elected to the House of Representatives with the ascendancy of the Democratic Party in the 1954 elections

Democratic converts of the HGEA ("HGEA Bounces Back" in "Our History: Milestones and History," HGEA website).

Trask, Jr., won a seat in the Territorial House in the 1954 election. In 1959, the year of Statehood, he was again elected to the State House of Representatives and served until 1964, after which he served for five years in the State Senate. At the 1968 Constitutional Convention, he led the fight to grant collective bargaining rights to public employees. From 1969 to 1981 he headed the HGEA (Kubota, "Labor leader David Trask Jr., who brought HGEA into modern era, dies"). In 1979, the HGEA's 16,000 members, led by Trask, Jr., went on strike, shutting down government offices for 12 days ("History and Milestones," HGEA website).

In "David K. Trask Jr." (Trask's obituary in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, October 20, 1999), Harold Morse paraphrases Trask and summarizes his career and achievements:

> ... it was only when plantation workers unionized did they finally achieve respect and dignity for their work. State and county employees had to wait until 1970 when the collective-bargaining law was passed to enjoy the same rights and benefits.
>
> Long overdue change came about only when organized labor flexed its collective strength in politics. The 1954

> elections changed the political and economic face of Hawaii, as the newly elected Democratic majority in the Legislature got there mainly through efforts of organized labor. Union votes helped him [Trask, Jr.] win legislative elections. The labor movement in Hawaii reached its peak in the early 1970s, with achievement of equal opportunity, economic growth and social mobility.

Morse concludes, "Trask sees one critical lesson to learn from labor history—that positive social change happens only through labor organizing, uniting and speaking with a strong voice."

4.27

Walter Kupau (1935–1999) was another accomplished Hawaiian labor leader of the post-war era. He took over leadership of the carpenters union from Stanley "Maui" Yanagi in 1978. Yanagi served as financial secretary and business representative from 1953, when he negotiated the union's first contract. Since the 1930s, the Japanese had dominated the carpentry trade; by 1930, 2,793 out of 3,705 carpenters (75%) were of Japanese ancestry.

Kupau was born in the multiethnic working-class neighborhood of Kalihi, in West Honolulu. After serving with the Army Corps of Engineers, he returned to Hawai'i and worked as a laborer before learning carpentry and joining the carpenters union. From 1978 to 1999, he led the 7,000-member union as its financial secretary, business representative, and chief negotiator. In the early 1970s, Kupau was interviewed by the anti-development journalist Warren Iwasa. He told Iwasa:

> Development is good for Hawaii because it creates jobs. Union jobs. Well-paying jobs for masons, electricians, plumbers, carpenters, and painters. It creates jobs for professionals, architects, engineers, lawyers, and accountants; and jobs for sales teams. Hawaii was in an economic boom. Construction jobs were essential to keep the economy growing. Prosperity benefits all of us. ("Differing on Development—Remembering Walter Kupau")

Iwasa opposed developments like the airport reef runway and the H-3

freeway, which Kupau and his union supported; Kupau also supported the city's rail project in the 1990s. Kupau called anyone, Democrat or Republican, who didn't support economic expansion and development a "troglodyte" (Iwasa). "Troglodyte," glossed "deliberately ignorant," means literally "cave-dweller" or "one who lives in a hole." In spite of his support of the H-3, in 1996, Kupau threatened to shut down the project until it was "blessed a second time by a Hawaiian priest after a section of the highway in Halawa Valley collapsed and four workers were injured" ("Labor's Walter Kupau"). The H-3 was realigned in 1992 to avoid damaging two culturally significant sites in Halawa, perhaps important heiau (Native religious sites).

In his 1999 *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* obituary, Kupau was praised for the last contract he negotiated for the carpenters in 1997; hotel workers union leader Tony Rutledge called it "one of the finest wage and benefits packages in the country." Russell Okata, who succeeded David Trask, Jr. as executive director of the HGEA in 1981, commented, "Walter deserves a great deal of credit for improving the quality of life

Walter Kupau and Sueo Kawakami, who was Carpenters Union Local 745 President from 1949 to 1952, then served as Carpentry Instructor at Honolulu Community College. (Beechart 1992)

in Hawaii over the last three decades" (Ohira).

In "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i," Fujikane, an anti-development activist, purports to support the working class by citing Cooper and Daws' Land and Power in Hawaii: "the Democrats gained popular support by promising land reform through land taxes and land-use laws that would benefit the working class, but historical records show that they ultimately promoted land development and real estate deals that benefited the Asian and white settlers" (5). As David Trask, Jr., and Walter Kupau noted, however, "land development and real estate deals" benefited the multiethnic working class and its families through the efforts of labor unions, which made sure workers shared in Hawai'i's post-war "economic boom" and prosperity. Kupau would label Cooper, Daws, and Fujikane "troglodytes."

Kupau's sister Jessica Kirk was my Social Studies teacher in the tenth grade at Castle High School (1967-68). She taught World History, which was synonymous with European History. That year, we learned through research some details about the Black Plague in Europe during the Middle Ages, which I recalled during the COVID-19 pandemic in the early 2020s. We also built a scale model of Renaissance Florence, based on historical maps.

In 1983, however, I discovered another side of Mrs. Kirk after her brother and a White contractor got into a dispute over organizing carpenters at a work site during the early 1980s. Kupau was eventually convicted of perjury and spent six months in federal prison. In a letter to *The Honolulu Advertiser* (Dec. 2, 1983), his sister defended him, calling the trial "farcical," and asserting that the contractor "made the carpenters union a scapegoat for his own personal failures." She also blasted the Advertiser for "yellow journalism" and a "slanted, anti-union, anti-Kupau" bias. Since 1898, when annexationist Lorrin A. Thurston bought the newspaper, until it shut down in 2010, it was known as the voice of the White business community in Hawai'i. In her letter, Mrs. Kirk noted that her brother was recognized for his honesty and candor by both labor and management, and that "a legion of his friends in the labor community ... will continue to carry on the standards and ideals of organized labor."

Later I found out that Mrs. Kirk served for over twenty-five years as the President of the Hawai'i Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO. She graduated from Kamehameha Schools, the University of Northern Colorado (B.A. in education) and UHM (Master's in History). Her

father, she writes, "Col. Oliver Homealani Kupau ... exemplified the finest of our Hawaiian culture" and "also captured the stories of our islands through the lens of his camera." Her daughter Ann Marie Nālani Kirk became an award-winning filmmaker focused on Hawaiian history and culture ("Jessica Maile Kupau Kirk," *Story Catcher* [website]).

4.28

Fujikane and her middle-class Asian Settlers Club were born too late to have lived through the decades of working-class achievements and socio-economic advancement led by labor leaders like Harry Kamoku, Jack Kawano, David Trask, Jr., and Walter Kupau. If she wants to write about that period of history, she needs to do more research to understand the significance of what they accomplished; or stick to writing about what she studied in graduate school, which is Asian American literature. Fujikane mentions "the growth of labor unions" before asserting that "Japanese children of plantation laborers led the Democratic Party takeover of both houses of the Territorial Legislature" and cites Cooper and Daws to support her false claim that the Democrats engaged in land development to benefit mainly "the Asian and white settlers who came to comprise the power structure of Hawai'i" (5).

As noted earlier, the myth that the Democratic Party takeover was led by Nisei was concocted as White post-war propaganda to praise American Democracy as open to all races, and also by self-congratulatory Nisei politicians and their children who bought into the flattering propaganda. Liberal White scholars like Cooper and Daws had a different agenda, which was to "expose" and "indict" the so-called power structure of Hawai'i, Democrats and Republicans, for profiteering off land development, when in fact, as noted earlier, the working-class unions supported development because it fueled the socioeconomic ascension of their members through higher wages, and benefited their members by building houses in which they could raise families. Gone were the days when the plantations would house workers in barracks in the cane fields, or when migrant workers had to build their own shacks on plantation land.

Middle-class liberal White scholars like Cooper and Daws had their own agenda, which was to "expose" and "indict" the so-called power structure of Hawai'i, Democrats and Republicans, for profiteering from land development at the expense of "the least privileged."

Fujikane quotes Jonathan Okamura, her co-editor of Asian Settler

Colonialism, to suggest that the unions promoted mainly Ni sei candidates. Okamura asserts without evidence to substantiate his claim, which is his norm:

> The substantial proportion of local Japanese in large public worker unions, such as the Hawaii Government Employees Association [HGEA] and the Hawaii State Teachers Association [HSTA], that can provide endorsements and financial and human resources for campaigning is yet another reason for Japanese election to office. (Qtd. by Fujikane in "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i" 25)

Without statistics on ethnicity and voting by union members, we can't assume, as Okamura does, that the members voted along ethnics line. I would assume that union members generally supported not candidates of their own ethnicity, but candidates who shared their interests and values and who supported legislation that promoted and protected the working-class against owners of companies, corporations, and government. I would also assume that unions had political education committees to inform their members about which candidates would best represent working-class interests, regardless of ethnicity, and the unions funded the campaigns of those candidates.

4.29

In their introduction to *Land and Power in Hawaii*, Cooper and Daws present a nine-page list titled "Public Officeholders and Political Figures as Real Estate Investors, Developers, Consultants, Attorneys, Brokers and Salespersons" (12-34). The list, which includes politicians of all ethnicities and both parties, is meant to suggest that the politicians were involved in land development and used their offices to enrich themselves. However, unless Cooper and Daws had information about wrongdoing by everyone on the list, which they didn't, the list was merely an exercise in guilt by association, a smear campaign based on innuendo by two White liberal academics, both newcomers, on a misguided self-righteous crusade against local politicians and developers.

After politicians get elected, are they required to divest themselves of real estate holdings and to abstain from investing in land or development, or working as lawyers, developers, or real estate

agents? Are there laws against such activities while in office? Cooper and Daws introduce the list by pointing out, and repeating, that the information in the list "can be found by anyone who consults the public record, meaning government and business publications, newspapers and periodicals, and the documented information which is required by law, available in government files open to the public" (15). The information was public because no one was hiding or trying to hide their professional and business connections. Of course, constructors were occasionally convicted of making illegal campaign donations to gain favors and were punished for doing so. A list of politicians who received illegal donations would help make Cooper and Daws' case for corruption.

Cooper and Daws include in their nine-page list US Senator Spark M. Matsunaga, US Representative Patsy T. Mink, Governor John A. Burns, and Lt. Governor Thomas Gill (a critic of corruption in government). In the conclusion of their book, however, the two White Crusaders admit these leaders of the Democratic Party, along with US Senator Daniel Inouye, didn't participate "in any significant way in land development profiteering" (Cooper and Daws 450–451).

When *New York Times* book reviewer Wallace Turner asked Gill what effect Cooper and Daws' book might have on public life in Hawai‘i, Gill replied: "None." He explained, "the gang that got in there and did well by themselves will be replaced by another gang that will take care of themselves and their friends while the system suffers and the state suffers" ("Dry Data On Land And Power Make For Best Seller In Hawaii"). Cynical, but not necessarily true; not everyone would agree that everyone in government was a crook, and everyone in the state suffered. In fact, the majority benefited.

Cooper and Daws introduce their book by stating that throughout Hawaiian history, starting in pre-colonial Hawai‘i under the Hawaiian Monarchy and continuing during the Republic of White Oligarchs and in the US Territory and State of Hawai‘i, "land has always been a political battleground and prize": "Those who have held land have generally occupied the high ground [sic] in politics. If those out of political power have managed to come into power, they have usually set about using their new position to get hold of land" (2). In their first sentence, Cooper and Daws mean to write, I think, "Those who held land were generally those who held political power." But while "those who come into power" could use their positions to "get ahold of land," what documentation is there about who and how many have done that,

to support the allegation that this was "generally" or "usually" true?

4.30

After misrepresenting the ascendancy of the multiethnic unions and Democratic Party as "a new era of Asian settler political ascendancy" ("Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i" 6), Fujikane quotes selectively from Cooper and Daws' *Land and Power in Hawaii* to make it sound as if "Asian Settler" politicians attempted to take land away from Native Hawaiians for the benefit of "middle and upper class haoles and local-Asians." She claims

> .... the Democratic Party supported lease-to-fee conversion bills designed to force landowners to sell land to their lessees for the ostensible purpose of redistributing land from wealthy land-owners to poor tenants, but in actuality a "Maryland-type law" was used in the 1980s to target the landholdings of Bishop Estate, a perpetual charitable trust for Native Hawaiians. Such measures sought to take this patrimony from Hawaiians by forcing them to sell trust lands that they were leasing to middle- and upper-class Asians and whites in east and windward O'ahu. As Cooper and Daws write, "Now by the 1980s, the Hawaii lessees who were seeking to own the land on which their homes stood were mainly middle and upper class haoles and local-Asians," while "the beneficiaries of the Bishop Estate were ethnic Hawaiians," resulting in a situation whereby "some of Hawaii's most privileged people [were] seeking land redistribution from the least." ("Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i" 28)

Fujikane ignores what Cooper and Daws write in the introductory chapter of their book:

> ...though the Democrats in power did start out down the land-reform track in the general direction of social justice [i.e., lease-to-fee conversion], it is a matter of public record that they did not proceed very far.
>
> What happened was that a different and much more easygoing approach to land reform became dominant.
>
> After only a few years in office most Democratic politicians

> pretty much abandoned forced land redistribution as a social goal, and, whether consciously and deliberately or not, opted instead for land development as an essential part of the way to broad social and economic reform.
>
> The idea was that development would create new wealth for new groups of people in Hawaii. The living standards of middle and working-class people would rise. Thus, rather than cut up the old pie of landed wealth in a different way, the idea was to make the pie grow rapidly and continually by developing land intensively, so that everyone could have more without anyone having to give up anything of significance. (7)

What Cooper and Daws describe was exactly the strategy adopted by the unions and the Democratic Party. Anything wrong with it? As Kupau and other union leaders noted, land development spread prosperity to the local working class whose higher wages, benefits, and housing didn't come out of the pockets of Native Hawaiians, but from the profit margins of the investors, landlords, developers, and contractors; and from US military spending; and also from home-buyers that included working-class, middle-class, and upper-class Hawaiians, Asians, and Whites, who benefited from the housing, and also from the public facilities and infrastructure like schools, colleges, roads and highways, and airports and harbors that were built with their taxes.

After renting an old two-bedroom house in Kāne'ohe for nine year, my parents bought a house in a new subdivision, Kapunahala, in 1962, on fee simple land. It was one of the projects of Democratic politician and real estate developer Ernest Nālani Heen, Jr., son of Ernest Haʻehaʻe Heen. (See subsection 4.9 above.) My parents took out a loan to buy the house and wanted a fee simple lot because they planned to add rooms to the house and wanted guaranteed ownership of the property in perpetuity, so they could pass the house and lot on to their children, as other landowners did. Dad used the carpentry skills he learned in the US Army to add a fourth bedroom, a second bathroom, a recreation room, and a laundry room for his family with three children; and asphalted the parking area to accommodate four cars and extended the garage roof to accommodate a second car for two working parents. After Dad passed away, everyone in the family moved to Honolulu, and Mom eventually sold the house and divided the proceeds equally among the three children.

In 1969, Mom also put down payments on two units in a newly

built condominium on leased land in Honolulu. When American Investment, Co., which owned the land, offered to sell the leasehold in 1990 (the lease extended until 2030), we bought the fee simple for both units. By then, the units were worth way more than Mom originally paid for them, and after we bought the fee simple title, they were worth even more.

"More than $1 billion will be spent on subdivision development on Oahu in the next 10 years, and among the housing projects is this tract of modern homes being built on former sugarcane fields near Pearl City" ("Back in the day: 1/19/60"; *Star-Advertiser*, March 20, 2025).

4.31

The story behind the 1967 Hawai'i Land Reform Act (the "Maryland-type law" in Fujikane's quote from Cooper and Daws above) is more complex—and more interesting—than is suggested by Fujikane's simplistic explanation that it was an attempt by "some of Hawaii's most privileged people seeking land redistribution from the least."

After World War II, large landowners in Hawai'i began leasing their lands to developers. The advantages of such leases included "steady income streams that would be periodically adjusted to reflect the increase

in land values, retention of improvements at the end of leases, and the transfer of responsibility for property taxes and maintenance expenses to lessees" (Locations, Inc., Research and Consulting Division 4). "In the mid-1960s, 26 percent of the single-family homes in Honolulu were on leased lands" (La Croix et al, "The Political Economy of Urban Land Reform in Hawaii" 17); and 70% of the single-family houses sold were on leasehold land (Locations, Inc., 3).

The purpose of the 1967 Land Reform Act was to produce a common good—forcing landowners to offer leasehold land for sale, so more citizens of all ethnicities (at least those who had enough income) to become homeowners. Many of the homeowners who would benefit from the legislation belonged to the middle and upper classes, since they could afford to purchase houses, and many of them were of Asian ancestry and White, but also included Natives, those whom Trask refers to as the Native bourgeosie. Potential homeowner buyers also included multiethnic union members who were making higher wages after their successful strikes.

What led to Cooper and Daws' accusation that "some of Hawaii's most privileged people [were] seeking land redistribution from the least" was that the Pauahi Estate, established for the education of Hawaiian children, was the largest lease-holder in the State, and Land Reform Act would force it to sell its leasehold land to people who wanted to own the land on which their houses were built. However, according to La Croix et al, "[t]here were few conversions from leasehold to fee simple between 1967 and 1975, partly due to the unwillingness of Governors Burns and Ariyoshi to implement the 1967 LRA [Land Reform Act]" ("The Political Economy Of Urban Land Reform in Hawaii" 21). Both governors opposed the Act because they believed it was unconstitutional for the State to force landowners like the Pauahi Estate to sell land. As a legislator, Ariyoshi voted against the Act when it was first introduced in 1963. However, Ariyoshi wasn't against housing for residents who couldn't afford to buy homes. In the 1970s, local activists led a resistance against the eviction of tenants and farmers on leased land in Waiāhole-Waikane on the Windward side of Oʻahu. The landowner wanted to sell the land to a subdivision developer. In 1977, Ariyoshi had the State buy the privately owned land from Elizabeth Marks, heir to the McCandless Estate, so it could be leased to those who were living there (Kubota, "Randy Kalahiki" 226).

The bulk of the lease-to-fee sales took place during the periods between 1979–1982 and between 1986–1990 (La Croix et al, "The

Political Economy of Urban Land Reform in Hawaii" 23). By then, the Pauahi Estate trustees saw a financial advantage in leasehold conversion, both because sales under the 1967 Act would receive more favorable tax treatment from the IRS than under the original 1963 Act and because they were "interested in selling lease lots in order to either diversify their investment portfolios or to raise capital for other types of development," like a resort development in Keauhou, Kona, on the Big Island (Cooper and Daws 407). By 1991, only 4,600 of single-family houses in Hawai'i were on leasehold land, down from approximately 22,000 in the mid-1960s. Over 90% of the conversion came from four private land estates—the Pauahi Estate (57.3 percent), Castle Estate (16.8 percent), Robinson Estate (9.5 percent) and Campbell Estate (6.7 percent) (La Croix et al, "The Political Economy of Urban Land Reform in Hawaii" 19).

4.32

Matsuo Takabuki (1923–2017), one of the Governor Burns' closest advisers and one of the most controversial politicians of Japanese ancestry of the post-war era, was a trustee of the Pauahi Estate from 1971 to 1993, during the period of leasehold-to-fee conversions. Cooper and Daws identify him as one of the Japanese American politicians who profited from real estate dealings while serving in office. In a 1998 Star-Bulletin interview of Takabuki, reporter Rick Daysog asked Tababuki to comment on Daws and Cooper's accusation. Takabuki responded, "These ... critics have little understanding of the socioeconomic stranglehold that an entire generation of islanders suffered under when this 'land and politics' were truly in the hands of the few," adding "the legislative changes opened opportunities and 'expanded' the economy so that more people could achieve wealth" (Daysog, "From plantation to power: Matsuo Takabuki and Hawaii"). In other words, Takabuki agreed with Kupau that Daws and Cooper (and Fujikane) were troglodytes.

Takabuki, a US Army veteran, served in Europe from 1943 to 1945. After the war, he earned a law degree from the University of Chicago, graduating in 1949, two years before Patsy Takemoto. Returning to Hawai'i, he became an attorney for the Territorial Department of Labor (1949–1952), then went into private practice. Takabuki was elected to the Honolulu City Council in 1952 and served for sixteen years. He

worked with other Democrats on John A. Burns' successful campaign for governor in 1962. As a finance lawyer, he also worked on lucrative financial and real estate deals with a developer of Chinese ancestry, Chinn Ho (1904–1987), one of the richest men in the State ("Matsuo Takabuki," *Star Advertiser* Obituaries). Ho was the grandson of a Chinese migrant worker who arrived in Hawai‘i in 1875 and became a rice farmer in the former wetlands of Waikīkī.

In 1971, Supreme Court Chief Justice William Richardson appointed Takabuki as a trustee of the Pauahi Estate. At the time, only one of the trustees, Richard J. Lyman Jr., was part-Hawaiian; two were haole (Frank E. Midkiff and Atherton Richards); and one was of Chinese ancestry (Hung Wai Ching). Takabuki was appointed to replace a White trustee, Herbert Keppeler. The appointment was opposed by Native Hawaiians who wanted a Native to be appointed, and over a thousand protesters marched against the Takabuki appointment. Some pointed out that it smacked of cronyism, given Takabuki's close ties to fellow Democrats Burns and Richardson. A student of Kamehameha Schools, which the trust was set up to fund, sued the Pauahi Estate to prevent Takabuki's appointment.

4.33

One of Takabuki's Hawaiian supporters was the leader of the carpenters union, Walter Kupau, who commented, "Takabuki's race should not be an obstacle" ("Labor's Walter Kupau"). Another supporter was Native Hawaiian Myron "Pinky" Thompson (1924–2001), a close ally of Burns, who was appointed as a trustee of the Pauahi Estate three years after Takabuki, in 1974. Pinky was a World War II veteran who lost sight in one eye from a head wound suffered during the Normandy Invasion. In 1952, he earned a master's degree in Social Work from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. From 1962 to 1967, he served as Executive Director of the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children's Center, which was established by the Queen in 1911 to benefit "orphan and other destitute children in the Hawaiian Islands, the preference given to Hawaiian children of pure or part-aboriginal blood." From 1967 to 1970, Pinky served as an administrator for Governor Burns, and from 1970 to 1974, as Director of the Department of Social Services & Housing.

In 1973, Thompson worked with Alvin Shim, James Bacon, Yukio Naito, David Peters, and Winona Ellis Rubin to establish what became

Left: Pauahi Estate Trustee Myron "Pinky" Thompson; **Right**: Pauahi Estate Trustee Matsuo Takabuki

Alu Like ("Striving Together"), which today offers programs for Native Hawaiian advancement—support for high risk students in the schools, employment and training, scholarships for career and technical education, services to improve individual and family stability, and elderly services. In 1988, Thompson helped establish Papa Ola Lōkahi ("Foundation of Integrated Life") to gather data and information on the status of Native Hawaiian health, and to work toward improving it with culturally appropriate strategies that promote the physical, mental and spiritual well-being of individuals, families, and communities. In 2008, The School of Social Work at the University of Hawai'i was named after Thompson posthumously to honor his contributions to the well-being and health of the community.

Pinky supported Takabuki's appointment because he knew that Takabuki, a finance lawyer, could help the trust increase its assets through investments. At the time of Takabuki's appointment, the estate was "land-rich, cash-poor organization, barely paying its bills to support Kamehameha Schools on Kapālama" (Daysog). The estate depended on its leasehold income. During his tenure as trustee, Takabuki helped the trust transition from dependence on income from leased lands to

global investments. The trust eventually became “a multibillion-dollar conglomerate whose vast holdings span three continents.” Daysog wrote:

> The estate ... today [1998] boasts a 10 percent stake in Goldman Sachs Group, which is worth between $2 billion and $4 billion. The estate also owns hundreds of thousands of acres of timberland in upper Michigan and condominium complexes in Las Vegas, and has an interest in a mainland China bank.

While the trustees had taken the Pauahi Estate into global investments, its mission remained local: the education of Native Hawaiian children; now it had millions of dollars to accomplish that mission.

4.34

As a trustee, Takabuki was involved in questionable investment decisions. His fellow trustee Hung Wai Ching filed suit against him for allegedly helping a developer make a profit at the expense of the Pauahi Trust, when the Estate bought Kawaiha‘o Plaza, which eventually became the headquarters of the Trust. Takabuki noted, however, that after four years, the building was worth four times more than the Trust paid for it. Takabuki also invested his personal money in deals in which estate funds were invested. Senior US District Judge Samuel King, who represented the Kamehameha Schools graduate who sued the estate over Takabuki’s appointment, sums up Takabuki’s work this way:

> He got [the trustees] into high-risk ventures, and most of them may have paid off. But his philosophy of investing was not clearly the philosophy that a trustee should follow. He deserves all the kudos he gets, and he deserves all the criticism he gets. (Qtd. in Daysog)

Judge King was the Republican son of the only part-Hawaiian Territorial Governor of Hawai‘i, Samuel Wilder King. About Takabuki’s work for the estate, King added: “I give him high marks for supporting the intentions of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop .... I think he was supportive of Hawaiians and did a good job on the educational end of the estate” (Qtd. in Daysog).

After 1974, when Pinky Thompson joined Takabuki as a trustee,

both supported using estate resources to fund early childhood education programs for Native children, so that the children would enter the State's schools with a head start. They also accelerated the transition of Kamehameha Schools to college preparation of its students, from its earlier emphasis on vocational and business training that was similar to what plantation managers of the thirties envisioned for public schools—training for "useful jobs" in trades or in business, not education "for the higher positions in life" (Fuchs 268–269).

In a 2001 obituary for Pinky, "Myron Bennett 'Pinky' Thompson: A Life of Service," Sam Low wrote:

> His careful study of Bernice Pauahi Bishop's will revealed that her intent was to benefit all the children of Hawaiian ancestry, including those in public schools, so he began extending the Estate's programs throughout the state. Ten years later, KSBE had expanded from a single focus—serving about 2,700 students in grades K-12 on its Kapālama campus, to an organization with three educational units (campus, extension, and research) and offered more than 35 separate programs affecting more than 40,000 children and adults annually.

Fujikane's brother and ally Dean Itsuji Saranillio reports that after Takabuki was confirmed as a trustee in 1971, Native Hawaiian Rev. Abraham Akaka, the older brother of Senator Daniel Akaka, and kahu of Kawaiahaʻo Church, rang the bells at Kawaiahaʻo Church for an hour in protest. The Reverend said in a speech: "We [Native Hawaiians] are now a nobody as far as the government is concerned" ("Colliding Histories" 304). Kotani reports that Akaka called Takabuki's confirmation "a dark day for our native Hawaiian people" who had become "strangers in their own land" (*The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 175). Akaka cared deeply for the Hawaiian community, but wasn't a sovereignty activist. When Statehood for Hawaiʻi was passed in Congress in 1959, he said in a sermon, "I would like today to speak the message of self-affirmation: that we take courage to be what we truly are, the Aloha State" ("Hawaii Statehood Address—Aloha ke Akua").

Saranillio, whose "Colliding Histories" was published in 2010, doesn't mention that on the day Takabuki retired as a Trustee in 1993 (nine years after Akaka retired as kahu in 1984), "the bells of Kawaiahao Church rang out in tribute [to Takabuki's contributions] to the Bishop Estate and the Native Hawaiian community" (Takabuki,

An Unlikely Revolutionary 192). The church is a block away from Kawaiaha‘o Plaza, where the Pauahi Estate offices are located.

4.35

US District Judge King pointed out to *Star-Bulletin* reporter Rick Daysog that the way Takabuki structured the estate board during his tenure enabled the next group of trustees to abuse their power. Four years after Takabuki retired from the board, all five estate trustees were Native Hawaiians: Oswald Stender, a former CEO of Campbell Estate and senior adviser to its board, appointed in 1990; Richard Sung Hong Wong, a former juvenile detention officer at the State Detentions Home for Boys, a former United Public Workers Union business agent, and the longest-serving president of the State Senate (1979–1992), appointed in 1993; Lokelani Lindsey, a former teacher, vice principal, principal, and district superintendent for the State Department of Education, appointed in 1993; Henry Ha‘alilio Peters, a former member of the State House of Representatives since 1974 and Speaker of the house from 1981-1987, appointed in 1994; and Gerard Aulama Jervis, a lawyer, also appointed in 1994. All five Hawaiians were appointed by the first Hawaiian governor of Hawai‘i, John Waihe‘e III, who served from 1986 to 1994.

In 1997, US District Judge King and UH law professor Randy Roth published a scathing critique of the Pauahi Trust, entitled “Broken Trust” (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 9, 1997). A book with the same title followed in 2006, co-authored by Roth and King. The newspaper critique was co-signed by three Native leaders—chair of the UH Board of Regents Gladys Brandt; retired judge Walter Heen, a former Democratic legislator and City Councilman (see subsection 4.4 above); and Catholic priest, Monsignor Charles Kekumano.

The critique alleged a faulty selection process for trustees, no clearly outlined responsibilities, and no accountability. Later that year, four other Native leaders, along with Roderick Mcphee, a former Headmaster of Punahou School, published an editorial entitled “Schools’ gross mismanagement must stop now: Tyranny, distrust, poor decisions reign at Kamehameha” (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 27, 1997). The four Native Hawaiian co-authors were all graduates of Kamehameha Schools—Isabella Abbott, a UH Ethnobotany professor; Winona K.D. Beamer, a teacher and Hawaiian cultural expert; Gladys A. Brandt, a former Principal of Kamehameha School for Girls and

director of the secondary division of Kamehameha Schools; and Winona Ellis Rubin, a former assistant to the President of Kamehameha Schools and former State Director of Human Services.

In 1997, the first governor of Filipino ancestry, Ben Cayetano, directed Attorney General Margery Bronster to investigate the allegations of breaches of fiduciary duties and mismanagement at Kamehameha Schools. The following year, Bronster argued that Lindsey, Wong, and Peters should be removed. In 1999, Lindsey was removed, but appealed; Wong, Peters, and Jervis were temporarily removed. Stender, who cooperated with Bronster's investigation, voluntarily resigned. By the end of 1999, Jervis, Wong, Peters, and Lindsey had also resigned permanently. In spite of (or because of) her work, Bronster wasn't renewed for another term as State Attorney General.

During those years the IRS also audited the Pauahi Trust, and proposed a settlement that included revocation of the trust's tax-exempt status. The trustees who replaced the five resignees avoided disaster by reaching a court-approved settlement with the IRS that included a payment of $9 million, plus interest, but which also secured its tax-exempt status. Takabuki was no "revolutionary" as the odd title of his autobiography (*An Unlikely Revolutionary*) proclaims. Instead, he was a very adept financial lawyer who helped himself and the clients and organizations that he served make money. As part of the Democratic Party takeover of the State government from the White Oligarchy, he also helped the State create opportunities for expanding its middle class.

4.36

upwind, it juts up
as a permanent contour in the midst of the rising sun

—Directions to Rapa Nui, from its migration tradition

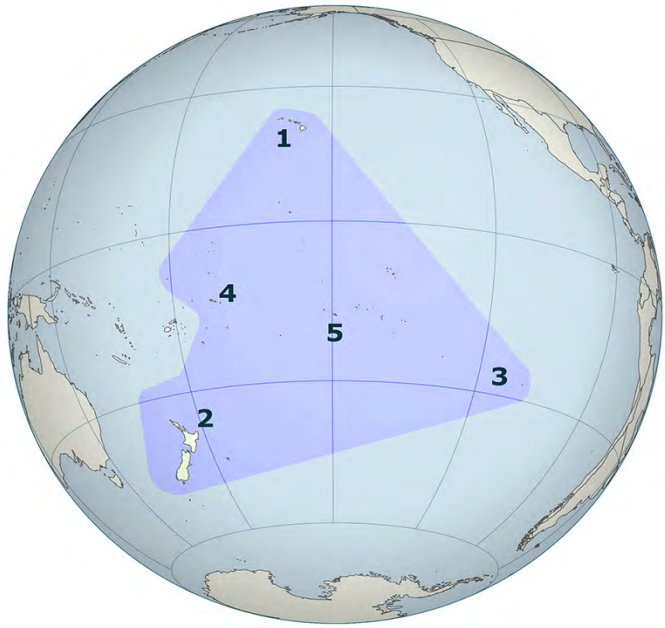
In 1999, while I was working as a curriculum and website developer for the Polynesian Voyaging Society, its president"Pinky" Thompson invited me to a lunch with Takabuki at Wai'alae Country Club. My recollection of the meeting is vague, but from the time frame, Pinky's son, navigator Nainoa Thompson, was there, and the three of them talked about funding for a voyage to Rapanui by the voyaging canoe Hōkūle'a, scheduled for October that year. PVS had just lost its funding for the

project; my guess is that the meeting with Takabuki had something to do with acquiring new funding, or perhaps thanking him for his help in acquiring funding). Pinky invited me to the meeting because I worked on educational materials for the voyage and developed a website that would allow school children, older students, and the public to track Hawai‘i’s iconic canoe as it made its journey to Rapanui. Pinky wanted me to give Takabuki an overview of the educational impact and value of the voyage. (On my work with educational programs for PVS, see “Twenty-five Years with the Polynesian Voyaging Society,” Note 5 in The Life and Times of Matsuko “Mitzi” Kawaharada.)

Four years before the voyage, in 1995, Pinky acquired funding for the Rapanui voyage from Queen’s Health System (QHS) through its Queen Emma Foundation. The foundation was established in 1988 by former Democratic Senator Kenny Brown, when he was Chair of the Board of QHS. (For Brown’s story, see 4.16 above.) Pinky and Brown shared a holistic view of Hawaiian health and believed that a strong, thriving Native culture, which included voyaging, was essential to the well-being of the Native community. The Rapanui voyage was designed to explore how ancient mariners sailed a canoe from central Polynesia to a tiny, remote, isolated island at the far southeastern corner of the Polynesian Triangle, upwind of the prevailing southeasterly trades. The canoe would have been navigated by celestial bodies, wind, ocean swells, and the flight of land-based birds, without modern equipment. Brown agreed with Pinky that a successful recreation of that voyage would be a remarkable achievement and would help to bring together and strengthen Hawaiian and Polynesian culture and communities.

Nainoa had spent two and a half decades studying traditional non-instrument navigation and sailing under Mau Piailug, a master navigator from the tiny atoll of Satawal in Micronesia. In 1976, Mau had navigated Hōkūle’a without modern instruments on her first voyage, from Hawai‘i to Tahiti, the heartland of the Polynesian homeland, crossing over 2,500 miles of mostly open ocean. Since then Nainoa had navigated the voyaging canoe to Aoteroa (New Zealand), at the southwestern corner of the triangular homeland and back to Hawai‘i at its northern tip, a two-year project (1985–1987) called “The Voyage of Rediscovery.” Now he wanted to take Hōkūle’a to Rapanui, at the far southeastern corner, to reconnect the Hawaiian people with their Rapanui cousins. He referred to the voyage as “closing the triangle.”

To set up funding for the voyage, Brown convened a meeting at Harkness Hall at Queen’s Hospital between the PVS leadership



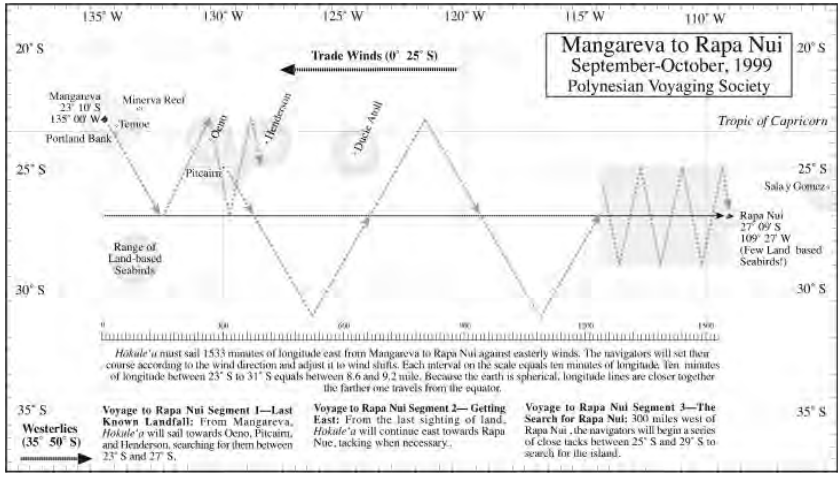
The Polynesian Triangle: 1. Hawai‘i; 2. Aotearoa; 3. Rapanui; 4. Sāmoa; 5. Tahiti Nui. Released into the public domain at Wikimeida Commons by Kahuroa.

and Brown's successor as QHS Chair, Robert Oshiro (1925-2008), a former Democratic Party campaign strategist and Burns' ally. Pinky was accompanied by his wife Laura Thompson, a philanthropist and environmentalist, and Nainoa. Pinky brought me along to provide background on PVS education programs. Oshiro agreed that the Queen Emma Foundation would fully fund the Rapanui voyage. The group adopted Brown's suggestion of "Mālama Hawai‘i" ("Taking care of Hawai‘i") as the theme for a statewide sail in 1996–1997, which would be included in the funding, to serve as community outreach and education before launching the voyage. "Mālama" was the Hawaiian value that Brown, serving as a State Senator from 1968 to 1974, proposed to guide the State.

In spring 1999, however, after the statewide sail was successfully completed, Oshiro and the administrators at Queen's Hospital decided to cut the funding for the Queen Emma Foundation and along with it, the funding for the Rapanui voyage. Oshiro explained in a newspaper interview that he was "totally committed to the Hawaiians," but that Queen's Health System had "to make sure we have sufficient resources to provide our basic mission: health care" (Altonn, "Queen's ends

Community Health" and "Closure impacts Voyaging Society funding"). The Health System was under duress at the time, forcing Oshiro to renege on his pledge to Kenny and Pinky to support the Rapanui project. The cut was made while PVS was in the midst of drydocking Hōkūle'a for the voyage and training crews to sail five legs from Hawai'i to Rapanui and back.

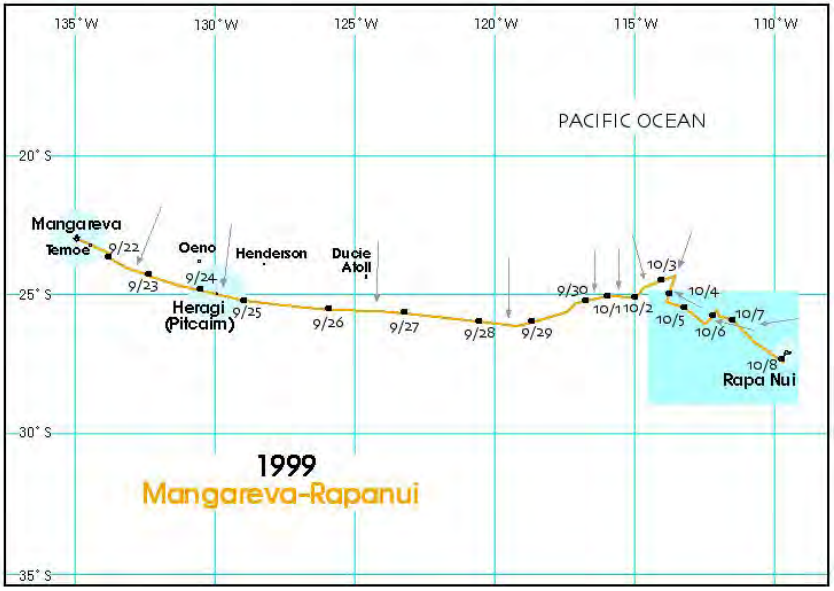
After the funding cut, Pinky acquired new funding to carry out the voyage, probably with Takabuki's assistance. Based on the windward performance of the canoe, the navigators mapped out a plan to find Rapanui. The plan was to tack upwind, against the Southeasterly trades that prevail most of the year, from Mangareva, via Pitcairn Island, to the tiny, remote, isolated island, in an imaginary box of ocean positioned around the latitude of the island and extending 300 miles to the west of it. The canoe would have to sail within 30 miles of the island to see it. Tacking against the southeasterly trades might have taken a month or longer. Nainoa was prepared to abandon the voyage after thirty days if the navigation team couldn't find the island.


135° W
130° W
125° W
120° W
115° W
110° W
20° S
25° S
30° S
35° S
Trade Winds (0° 25° S)
Mangareva to Rapa Nui
September-October, 1999
Polynesian Voyaging Society
Mangareva
23° 10' S
135° 00' W
Minerva Reef
Temoe
Portland Bank
Oeno
Henderson
Ducie Atoll
Pitcairn
Tropic of Capricorn
Sala y Gomez
Rapa Nui
27° 09' S
109° 27' W
(Few Land based Seabirds!)
Range of Land-based Seabirds
0
300
600
900
1200
1500
Hokule'a must sail 1533 minutes of longitude east from Mangareva to Rapa Nui against easterly winds. The navigators will set their course according to the wind direction and adjust it to wind shifts. Each interval on the scale equals ten minutes of longitude. Ten minutes of longitude between 23° S to 31° S equals between 8.6 and 9.2 mile. Because the earth is spherical, longitude lines are closer together the farther one travels from the equator.
Westerlies
(35° 50° S)
Voyage to Rapa Nui Segment 1—Last Known Landfall: From Mangareva, Hokule'a will sail towards Oeno, Pitcairn, and Henderson, searching for them between 23° S and 27° S.
Voyage to Rapa Nui Segment 2— Getting East: From the last sighting of land, Hokule'a will continue east towards Rapa Nui, tacking when necessary.
Voyage to Rapa Nui Segment 3—The Search for Rapa Nui: 300 miles west of Rapa Nui , the navigators will begin a series of close tacks between 25° S and 29° S to search for the island.

The Sail Plan to Rapanui (Posted at the PVS website before the voyage).

In October 1999, riding seasonal wind shifts that Nainoa and a team of navigators had anticipated, Hōkūle'a sailed on an extraordinary, inspirational sixteen-days journey to Rapanui and reunited the Hawaiian people with their Polynesian cousins there. (See Sam Low's "Gift of the Wind: Aboard Hōkūle'a on her Miraculous Journey to Rapa Nui.")

Hōkūle'a sailing east from Mangareva toward the rising sun and Rapanui, the direction indicated in an ancient chant. Photo by Sam Low.



The track of Hōkūle'a, on a miraculous 16-day 1430-mile voyage toward the rising sun, from Mangareva to Rapanui (Sept. 22–Oct. 8, 1999). The canoe rode shifting winds favorable for sailing east. (Posted at the PVS website after the voyage)

“There it is!” Max Yawaramai (Mau Piailug’s nephew) yells to veteran crew member Aaron Young.—“Rapa Nui!” Photo by anthropologist and author Sam Low, Nainoa’s cousin, on board to document the voyage.

4.37

To support Trask’s assertion of Asian political dominance after 1959 Statehood, Fujikane cites Cooper and Daws on the overrepresentation of politicians of Japanese ancestry in the State legislature:

> From 1955 to 1980, the percentage of Japanese Democrats in the Legislature was twice the percentage of Japanese in Hawaii’s population. In 1960, when Japanese were 32% of population, they were 67% of Democratic legislators in both houses,” and “in 1980, with 25% of population, they were 60% of Democratic legislators.” (“Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i” 23)

Fujikane updates the data to 2005, reporting that legislators of Japanese ancestry continued to be “overrepresented” while Hawaiians were underrepresented: “Japanese constitute only 21.9 percent of the population of Hawai‘i, but they are 40 percent of the Senate and 40 percent of the House of Representatives” (23); by contrast, Hawaiians are underrepresented: “Hawaiians constitute 22.1 percent of the population compared to 8 percent of the Senate and 10 percent of the

House" (24). (Of course, Fujikane should subtract out the Issei, who made up a portion of the percentage of Japanese population, but who weren't US citizens and were ineligible to vote.)

Other "Settlers," Fujikane notes, were also "overrepresented" in 2005:

> Whites constitute 21.1 percent of the population, 24 percent of the Senate, and 26 percent of the House. ... Filipino settlers are 15.9 percent of the population, 20 percent of the Senate, and 14 percent of the House; Chinese settlers 5.8 percent of the population, 8 percent of the Senate, and 12 percent of the House; and Korean settlers about 2 percent of the population, 4 percent of the Senate, and 2 percent of the House. (24–25)

So how did politicians of Japanese ancestry win 67% of the Democratic legislative seats in 1960 when their ethnic group made up only 32% of the population; and 40% of the seats in 2005 when they were 22% of the population? They were elected by voters, not appointed by a Nisei King or Nisei Oligarchy; nor were they backed by a military force; nor could they limit voting to voters of their own ancestry and of other ethnicities who would support them, as the White Oligarchs did in the late nineteenth century; nor could they prevent candidates of other ethnicities from running for office. The 32% of the population of Japanese ancestry didn't have enough voters to elect 67% of the legislature by themselves.

One conjecture about the Nisei election victories was that voters of Japanese ancestry voted as a block for candidates of their own ethnicity. Nothing wrong with block-voting if the candidates represent the interests of those who vote for them. I don't know of any ethnic group that votes against its own interests, except out of ignorance or because politicians have deceived them, as Kamokila Campbell did by "crawling" into a Japanese plantation camp to humbly ask for 4,000 votes, then turning on the Nisei workers and bashing Japs at a Statehood hearing. However, even if the voters of Japanese ancestry voted as a block, politicians of Japanese ancestry couldn't have won elections with the support of only voters of their own ancestry (32% of the population in 1960, 25% in 1980, and 22% in 2005.)

In *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*, Kotani asserts (without documentation) that voters of Japanese ancestry "showed no greater tendency toward ethnic bloc voting than other groups" (158).

Or to put it another way, voters of other ethnicities tended to vote as a block, too, perhaps because they had similar historical and cultural experiences and shared each other's values and interests. Kotani also notes, "By 1958, defeated candidates were blaming their losses on the tendency of Japanese voters to cast their ballots for Nisei candidates" (158). He quotes a "prominent resident, a longtime public servant of Hawaiian ancestry" who expressed resentment toward voters of Japanese ancestry: "I am sick and tired of kow-towing to the Japanese. Republicans should not seek their votes; we could win with all the other groups" (158, 161).

In 1960, residents of Japanese ancestry comprised 32% of the population, but the Issei, like the three of my grandparents, who were still alive couldn't vote. Whites made up about 32% of the population, all US citizens, as were all the 16% of the population that were Natives; those of Filipino ancestry were about 11% of the population, and those of Chinese ancestry about 6% (Schmitt 25, Table 1.12 Ethnic Stock, 1853–1970). So yes, as the Republican of Native ancestry suggested, if voters of White, Hawaiian, Filipino, and Chinese ancestry (around 65% of the population) united and voted as a block, they could have easily outvoted the 32% of Japs, and elected candidates of their own ethnicities. (I'm assuming that the percentage of population of the ethnic groups represented more or less, the percentages of eligible voters and registered voters among the various ethnic groups.) However, after Statehood, Republicans repeatedly lost elections in Hawai'i, so if the strategy proposed by the "longtime public servant of Hawaiian ancestry" whom Kotani quotes was ever adopted by Republicans, it apparently didn't work too well.

We have to assume that some voters of other ethnic groups helped elect the Nisei who made up over 50% of the legislature between 1955 and 1980, and the three Congressional delegates of Japanese ancestry in 1966. Perhaps those voters thought candidates of Japanese ancestry were qualified to serve in public office because of their military service and/or their college educations. Or perhaps some voters of non-Japanese ancestry cast ballots for candidates of Japanese ancestry because those voters benefited, along with voters of Japanese ancestry, from legislation that was passed. (My guess would be that if anyone voted as a block, it would be the multiethnic union workers who wanted to elect candidates to protect or advance their working-class interests.)

Was it possible that more than a few (or at least some or a few) politicians of Japanese ancestry actually cared about the well-being of

everyone in the community, not just themselves or others of Japanese ancestry? Otherwise, one might have to assume that voters of other ethnicities weren't astute enough to notice that politicians of Japanese ancestry were passing legislation to benefit only those of Japanese ancestry; or that voters of non-Japanese ancestry didn't care who got in or were demoralized by the plurality of voters of Japanese ancestry, and so didn't vote, thereby allowing voters of Japanese ancestry to control the elections.

4.38

To support Trask's assertion that "Asian ascendancy" led to the subordination of Natives in their homeland, the Asian Settlers Club also presents data on socioeconomic disparities between dominant and subordinate ethnic groups in the Settler State. Fujikane quotes her co-editor Jonathan Okamura:

> "... occupational, income and educational status data from the 2000 U.S. Census for ethnic groups in Hawai'i indicate that Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Whites continue to be the dominant groups in the ethnic stratification order, while Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans continue to occupy subordinate positions." (Qtd. in "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i." 23)

Fujikane refers the reader to "Table 2. Occupational Distribution within Ethnic Groups in Hawai'i, 2000" (24), which shows that higher percentages of Whites (37.5%), Japanese (36.9%), and Chinese (30.6%) worked in "Management, Professional, and related occupations" while lower percentages worked in Service Occupations; in contrast, a lower percentage of Hawaiians (22.8%) and Filipinos (18.3%) worked in "Management, Professional, and related occupations" while higher percentages worked in Service Occupations. She assumes that management, professional, and related occupations pay more than occupations in service; sales and office; fishing, farming, and forestry; construction, extraction, and maintenance; and production, transportation, and material moving; of course, her assumption is false. For example, unionized workers in construction and transportation may earn as much as or more than managers; real estate agents (sales) may earn more than some professionals; and so on.

A more detailed analysis of jobs and incomes for each ethnic group would provide the reader with a better understanding of ethnic stratification.

4.39

In "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" (2000), Trask wrote, "Settler children, ever industrious and deserving, obtain technical and liberal educations," that is, post-secondary education (2). No doubt, the education level of the residents of Japanese ancestry had something to do with their "overrepresentation" in "Management, Professional, and related occupations," many of which require college degrees.

The Democratic-controlled State legislature provided substantial funding to the public schools and the University of Hawai'i because the legislators knew that education would enable children of all ethnicities to advance socioeconomically. In "Educational Attainment in Hawaii" (January 2016), the Research and Economic Analysis Division of the State's Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism documented the connection between educational attainment and rates of labor force participation rates/unemployment rates:

- Less than high school graduate: 62.9% work participation rate, 10.2% unemployment rate
- High school graduate 75.5% work participation rate, 8.4% unemployment rate
- Some college or associate's degree [two-year degree]: 80.7% work participation rate, 5.6% unemployment rate
- Bachelor's degree [four-year degree] or higher: 85.5% work participation rate, 2.9% unemployment rate

As Trask notes, what drove the socioeconomic advance of the "ever industrious" Nisei was their acquisition of "technical and liberal educations," which qualified them for professional and managerial jobs that became available in the new post-war economy. The motivation for obtaining college degrees was instilled in them by their parents and by the predominantly White and Native public school teachers of their era; many Nisei who took a reverence for education to heart, and like my dad and mom, they passed that reverence on to their children.

The Issei also supported the college education of their children

financially if they could afford it. Before the war, my mom's father made enough money from his store in Hilo to send his oldest son and oldest daughter to Japan for college educations; and his second and third sons to the West Coast, where his second son attended the University of California at Berkeley and his third son went to the University of Southern California. Other Issei couldn't afford to send all of their children to college, as Grandpa intended to do, especially if the Issei were still plantation laborers, as many were. Some parents decided to send only the most studious of their children while the other children were tasked with working to help support the family. A cousin told me that her mom's siblings were envious of her mom because her mom was the only child their parents could afford to send to college, to UC Berkeley in 1941. In her first semester, her mom was sent to a detention center when World War II broke out, but she was released from detention after less than a year to attend the University of Utah, which agreed to allow Japs to matriculate. Five years after she entered college, she graduated in 1946 with a teaching degree. She returned to Hilo and found a job teaching at an elementary school.

The Nisei who served in the US Army during and after the war could obtain college educations on the GI Bill, which paid for up to four years of a college education, designed to keep discharged soldiers out of the job market as the US economy transitioned from war-time to peace-time. Okamura reports that "60 percent of the US soldiers from Hawai'i" during World War II were of Japanese ancestry ("Race Relations in Hawai'i" 60), so the percentage of young Nisei men who came back alive and could take advantage of the GI Bill was probably higher than the percentage of young men in other ethnic groups. The college education they received prepared them to qualify for jobs in the new post-war economy.

After Dad was discharged from the army in January 1947, he worked as a carpenter for a company constructing and renovating buildings at Pearl Harbor. Perhaps because he wanted to get married to Mom (and wanted to impress her), he decided to take advantage of the GI Bill to continue his college education, which had been interrupted by the war. He graduated from the Milwaukee School of Engineering in 1950. His two younger brothers, and one of my mom's older brothers and her younger brother also graduated from college on the GI Bill. One of Dad's future brothers-in-law, wounded in Italy during the war, graduated from the University of Michigan on the GI Bill after

recuperating from his injury at an army hospital in Ann Arbor. All of my uncles and aunts got jobs in the professions for which their degrees prepared and qualified them.

4.40

When my mom graduated from Hilo High School in 1944, her father was in prison as an enemy alien and wasn't able to pay for her room, board and college tuition, as he had done for his first four children. However, she had her heart set on getting a college degree, to become a dietitian or nutritionist, perhaps inspired by a talk that the principal of her elementary school gave to Issei parents (with the help of an interpreter) on the importance of a good diet for their children.

Before the war, while Mom was growing up, her father planned to send her to a women's college in Japan to prepare her for marriage, as he had done for his first daughter, but Mom told him that she wanted to go to college in America instead and pursue a career. He didn't oppose her plan, but advised her that if she wanted to get married and have a family (which she did), she should acquire a professional degree instead of a business degree because operating a business like his retail store entailed long hours and constant pressure, which would make it difficult for her to get married and have a family.

The summer Mom graduated from high school in 1944, she moved to Honolulu on her own and worked at a pineapple cannery and as a maid at the Colonial Hotel to support herself and earn money for college tuition and expenses. My guess would be that during the war with Japan there weren't many, if any, scholarships for Japs, or she might have applied for one. For the next four years she worked as a live-in housekeeper and cook, to earn room, board, and tuition money until she graduated from the UH in 1948 with a BS degree in dietetics.

The chair of the Home Economics department, Carey D. Miller, from the Midwest, became Mom's mentor. Miller was a pioneer in the study of multiethnic diets and foods in Hawai‘i, including the foods and diets of people of Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino ancestry.

While pursuing her dietetics degree, Mom took a home management and cooking course to prepare for her role as a mother. In November 1947, *The Honolulu Advertiser* featured a photo of students in the UH-operated, live-in house where course was taught. The caption described the students as "an international group of home economics seniors who completed eight weeks of Home Management training

The UH Home Management class in fall 1947. Mom is on the left.

during the first semester." Mom, born a US citizen in Hawai'i, wasn't an "international student," although the White-owned *Advertiser* labeled her as one.

The newspaper photographer had the students of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino ancestry dress up in international costumes; the White student might also be wearing an outfit of her ancestors from a country in Europe. Mom wore a kimono, although she never wore one at home. (I never saw her in a kimono, except in this photo.) The instructor, Eunice Hendrickson, is seated at the center, signifying America's leadership of an "international" community, with a student of Filipino ancestry, whose family came from a former US colony, kneeling at her feet. (US colonial rule of the Philippines, which began with annexation in 1898 after the Spanish-American War, was interrupted by the Japanese military occupation during World War II. The US relinquished its colonial rule in 1946 after the Filipino people voted in a referendum to become an independent nation.)

After a year-long internship with public health institutions in Milwaukee, where Mom married Dad, they spent two years on Guam where Dad took a job with the Civil Aeronautics Board after earning his BS in electrical engineering. Mom was hired as a dietitian at Guam

Memorial Hospital where I was born. They moved back to Hawai'i after Dad's father died in 1953. She began her career as an assistant dietitian at the Territorial Hospital for the mentally ill in Kāne'ohe in 1954. One of her former instructors at the UH, Lillian Page, was head dietitian at the hospital and hired her.

In 1961, Mom was hired as chief dietitian at Kauikeōlani Children's Hospital, founded in 1909 by Hawaiian philanthropist Emma Kauikeōlani Napoleon Mahelona Wilcox (1851–1931). In 1962, Mom succeeded her UH mentor, Professor Miller, as President of the Hawai'i Dietetics Association (HDA) and served a two-year term. In 1972, she became dietary director for two hospitals planning to merge, Children's Hospital and Kapi'olani Hospital for Women and Children (originally a Maternity Home for mothers and babies established in 1890 by Queen Kapi'olani, the wife of King David Kalākaua, in hopes of reducing the high infant mortality rate among Hawaiians). In 1978, Children's and Kapi'olani hospitals merged into Kapi'olani Medical Center for Women and Children, and Mom culminated her career as its

Mom with the multiethnic Dietary Services staff at Kapi'olani Medical Center. After earning her BS degree, Mom ascended from part-time hotel maid, pineapple cannery worker, and live-in housekeeper and cook, to middle management at a medical center. The cooks and kitchen workers were mostly migrant workers from the Philippines.

dietary director, from that year to 1989.

The hospital administrators who hired Mom as a mid-level manager weren't of Japanese ancestry, they were White, as were most of the heads of major corporations and businesses in Hawai'i. In 1985, Kotani reported in *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggl*e: "Despite their proportionate share of executive, administrative and managerial positions [twenty-five years after Statehood], the Japanese continued to be noticeably underrepresented among powerful corporate executives." Of the fifteen executives that Hawaii Business magazine identified as "the center of corporate power," only one was Nisei, Patricia Saiki, chair of the Republican Party and AMFAC director; only one was part-Hawaiian; of the others, nine were White and four were Chinese American (172).

Mom dedicated her life to improving the well-being of the community through healthy foods and diets. In 1980, when she

Left: Mom with Senate President Richard "Dickie" Wong, who later was appointed as a trustee for the Pauahi Estate. **Right**: with Senator Dante Keala Carpenter, who is remembered for passing bills to lower drug costs with generic drugs, and for establishing the Hawai'i Food Bank; later, he won elections as Mayor of the Big Island, as a trustee of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, and as the Chairman of the Democratic Party.

was serving her second term as president of the Hawai‘i Dietetics Association (HDA), she was honored at the State Legislature when a bill she worked on regarding State qualifications for licensed dietitians won legislative approval.

After Mom retired, she volunteered to help gather data for a UH study on links between diet and cancers in the different ethnic groups in Hawai‘i. The study director sent her on a week-long trip to Japan to train Japanese dietitians on the protocols for a diet-cancer study that the Japanese had started.

4.41

Before my dad passed away in 1970 at age 44, Mom promised him that she would pay the tuitions for the college education of their three children. As a single parent, she kept her promise. She was helped by Social Security payments for her three dependent children while they were undergraduates at the UH. Luckily, the UH was supported by substantial funding by the State legislature, and tuition was relatively inexpensive back then (late 1960s, early 1970s); a fulltime student paid just over a $100 per semester. Mom also used life insurance payouts to make down payments on two apartments on leased land near the UH campus where her children could live while attending the UH as undergraduates. Before Dad’s passing, Mom and Dad had bought two life insurance policies for Dad from Mom’s older brother to help that brother support his family of three children. They continued paying the premiums, even though they considered dropping the policies when they had to start making mortgage payments on the house they bought. When her two sons began working and were able to start paying the mortgages on the apartments, she gifted them to her two sons.

Mom also paid the tuition for the graduate education of her three children, taking out loans for her daughter’s graduate education at two private Boston universities. She took on side consultancy work to pay the loans off, even though her daughter was already married; and when her daughter purchased a house with her husband, Mom gave them the down payment. (See *The Life and Times of Matsuko “Mitzi” Kawaharada*, sections 1.3–1.11.)

Many other Nisei parents encouraged their children to go to college. My 36 cousins acquired post-secondary education, as far as they wanted to go or were capable of going, with as much financial support as their parents could afford. The second- and third-generation

descendants of the Issei typically had fewer children than the previous generation, since the families didn't need children to help with farms or businesses or to earn another income to help support the families. With fewer children, parents didn't have to earn or save as much to send them to college.

In *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*, Kotani notes:

> In 1984, students of Japanese ancestry were the largest ethnic group at the University of Hawaii's Manoa campus, comprising 35.3 percent of the total enrollment. By comparison Haoles, the second largest "ethnic" group, made up only 24.0 percent of the UH-Manoa student body. AJA students were heavily concentrated as major in business administration, education, math and engineering. (169)

I'm not sure why Kotani thought that a comparison between the number of students of Japanese ancestry vs. the number of Whites at the UH-Mānoa was significant. Well-off Whites (and Natives) generally preferred to send their children to private schools, and universities on the continent, not to public schools and the local university. When the incomes of families of Japanese and other Asian ancestries rose, they emulated the educational preferences of well-off Whites and Natives.

Educational levels can change in a generation, as they did for the Nisei. In the Settler State of America, the socioeconomic status of migrant workers and their descendants is fluid, not permanently "structural" in a "colonizer-indigene relationality." And although Natives are subjected to that relationality in a Settler State, they have been and are free to ascend politically and economically in it, as many have, through work and education.

4.42

The belief of parents of Japanese ancestry in post-secondary education as a pathway to a better life, and parental support of their children's education is reflected in data on degree attainment of persons twenty-five years and older, from the US Census Bureau's "2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates." In "Japanese American Settler Colonial Power in Hawai'i" (2023), Okamura reported "Japanese Americans continue to have the highest" combined total of percentage of Bachelor's degrees and higher. Actually, his data show that

“Okinawans,” from the southernmost prefecture of Japan, presented as a separate group from “Japanese,” had the highest percentage of degree-attainment.

The median percentage of degree-attainment in the total population was 30.9%, with 20.4% having Bachelor’s degrees [Bds] and 10.5% having Graduate or Professional degrees [GPds] (203):

- Okinawan Americans: 41.4% (28.6% with Bds, 12.8% with GPds)
- Japanese Americans: 37.6% (26.4% with a Bds, 11.2% with a GPds)

[A note on Okinawan vs. Japanese ancestry: Okinawa, formerly, the Ryūkyū Kingdom, was invaded by the Satsuma Domain of Japan in 1609 and became a vassal state. In 1868, the Meiji government annexed the Ryūkyū Kingdom as a han (a lord’s estate); in 1879, the islands were designated as a prefecture of Japan and renamed Okinawa. The old name, “Ryūkyū,” was from the era when the islands were part of the tributary system of Imperial China. Manako Ogawa writes that 16,534 migrant workers came from Okinawa to Hawai‘i before the 1924 US ban on Japanese immigration; she also notes that Japanese migrants looked down on the Okinawan migrants (134).

[When World War II ended in 1945, the US took Okinawa from Japan and placed it under the control of the US military, which wanted to establish bases there. The US Occupiers encouraged the Okinawans to see the Japanese as oppressors from whom the Okinawans had been liberated by America, in hopes that the Okinawans would be more grateful and compliant during the US Occupation (Ogawa 134). In 1971, under an agreement between the US and Japan, Okinawa reverted to Japanese control, although the US retained the right to maintain and access its military bases there.

[With a different ancestral history from the Japanese, many residents of Okinawan ancestry in Hawai‘i now self-identify their ethnicity as Okinawan rather than Japanese. In 2014, the first Hawai‘i Governor of Okinawan ancestry, David Ige, was elected and served two terms.]

Okamura reports that besides the Japanese and Okinawans, three other groups that he labels “socioeconomically dominant groups” exceeded the 30.9% median percentage of educational attainment:

- Whites: 36.0% (22.0% with Bds, 14.0% with GPds)

- Chinese Americans: 31.0% (19.7% with Bds, 11.3% with GPds)
- Korean Americans: 31% (20.8% with Bd, 10.2% with GPds)

For contrast, Okamura presents degree-attainment data for three groups that he labels "socioeconomically subordinate":

- Filipino Americans: 19.1% (15.4% with Bds, 3.7% with GPds)
- Native Hawaiians: 16.4% (11.1% with Bds, 5.3% with GPds)
- Samoan Americans: 14.7% (11.9% with Bds, 2.8% with GPds)

Okamura also lists other "socioeconomically subordinate" groups "such as Vietnamese Americans, Marshallese and Tongans," but doesn't present data for them. The original source shows a wide gap between Vietnamese Americans (who have about the same percentage of degree attainment as Filipino Americans) and Tongans; and between Tongans and the Marshallese:

- Vietnamese Americans: 19.8% (14.3% with Bds, 5.5% with GPds)
- Tongan: 6.4% (1.1% with Bds, 5.3% with GPds)
- Marshallese: 2.6% (2.3% with Bds, 0.3% with GPds)

Except for Native Hawaiians, the "socioeconomically subordinate" groups are more recent arrivals in Hawai'i than the groups of Japanese, Okinawan, White, Chinese, and Korean ancestry. (See subsection 4.46 below for a discussion of the order of arrival of ethnic groups in Hawai'i and its effect on socioeconomic data; and sections 4.53 and 4.54 for a discussion of the education of Native Hawaiians in the Settler State of Hawai'i.)

4.43

The economic advancement of residents of Asian ancestry wasn't due only to college degrees, but also to entrepreneurship, which was the main means by which the first generation were able to survive, and sometimes thrive after leaving the plantations. (See subsection 3.21-3.23 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i.") Asian Settler Club member Dean Itsuji Saranillio notes the post-war business opportunities that entrepreneurs of Chinese and Japanese ancestry took advantage of:

> After the attack on Pearl Harbor, many white businessmen left Hawai‘i fearing further military attack and martial law. This consequently led to an economic vacuum, enabling many Japanese American and Chinese American entrepreneurs to capitalize on abandoned businesses and wide open markets. Takabuki writes [in his autobiography, An Unlikely Revolutionary]: “The Fukunagas of Servco started a small garage in Haleiwa, which grew into a large conglomerate of auto and durable goods dealerships [Toyota cars and trucks], discount stores, and financial institutions. . . . The Teruyas’ small restaurant and market in the 1950s and 1960s eventually became Times Supermarket. Chinn Ho started Capital Investment. K. J. Luke and Clarence Ching created Loyalty Enterprises, while Aloha Airlines began with Ruddy Tongg. As the number of local professionals, lawyers, and doctors grew in postwar Hawai‘i, the economic, professional, and political landscape also changed rapidly.”
>
> Takabuki explains further that the major banks in Hawai‘i—Bank of Hawai‘i and Bishop Bank (now First Hawaiian Bank)—would not regularly offer business loans to anyone outside of the white economic circle. This led veterans Daniel Inouye and Sakae Takahashi to join in opening two banks: Central Pacific Bank (CPB) and later the City Bank of Honolulu. With financial and administrative support from major banking institutions in Japan, many in the Democratic Party ventured in major residential and tourism-related real estate development projects since tourism had displaced agriculture as the dominant industry in the 1960s (“Colliding Histories: Hawai‘i Statehood at the Intersection of Asians ‘Ineligible to Citizenship’ and Hawaiians ‘Unfit for Self-Government’” 295–296).

So how did this “economic vacuum” and “abandoned businesses and wide open markets” allow only entrepreneurs of Japanese and Chinese ancestry to start businesses or become involved in “major residential and tourism-related real estate development projects” after “tourism displaced agriculture.” How were others excluded, as Saranillio wants to imply? What laws did the Nisei-dominated legislature pass to prevent others from participating, for example, those of Hawaiian and Filipino ancestry? Saranillio doesn’t address, or even

ask these questions, perhaps because the answer to the second question is "none." The entrepreneurs of Japanese and Chinese ancestry had gained some knowledge and expertise in starting businesses from the Issei, who started small businesses in Hawai'i during first-half of the twentieth centuries because White businesses, other than plantations, wouldn't employ them.

Kotani also points out:

> Japanese entrepreneurs were generally "small fry" in the island economy. Rogers and Izutsu noted, "In striking contrast to the success of Hawaii's Japanese in politics and the professions, there has not been a parallel success in large corporate endeavors ...." Of the 50 largest Hawaii companies listed in the "Hawaii Business Top 250" in 1984, only seven ... were controlled by local Japanese. No local Japanese firm ranked among the top 10 largest companies in the islands. (*The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 172)

In other words, Nisei entrepreneurs didn't control the State's economy or the hiring of the bulk of managerial and professional positions in private enterprise, which provided the majority of such jobs.

4.44

In "Japanese American Settler Colonial Power in Hawai'i," Okamura also presents 2015 data on median income and house ownership of "dominant" and "subordinate" ethnic groups. The median family income for Hawai'i was $80,800. Among the ethnic groups, median family income was highest among Okinawan Americans ($108,500), followed by Japanese Americans ($95,200), and Chinese Americans ($85,000). The median family income of Filipino Americans ($81,100) was slightly above the State median.

Okamura suggests (without documentation) that the above-median income for Filipino Americans "can be attributed to the greater number of working adults in their families compared to other ethnic groups." What about the groups which had the highest median income? Many, if not most families of Okinawan, Japanese, and Chinese ancestry had, typically, two working spouses or partners, a practice that differed from the traditional practice of single-income families supported by a

working father in America. A two-income household with two spouses or partners in a stable relationship would presumably have a higher income than single-income households (e.g., those in which a parent was divorced, widowed, or unmarried). If one or both working parents or partners held professional, managerial, or unionized jobs that paid better than other kinds of jobs, the households would presumably, on average, have higher incomes than single-income households. Would data for each ethnic group on the percentage of households with two or more incomes help explain some of the income disparities that Okamura points out? You would think he would have made an effort to do some research on the question and present the findings.

Okamura lists the ethnic groups with median income below average:

> Whites ($79,400) are a little below the Hawai‘i median, which is due to the significant military segment of their population. Native Hawaiians ($73,600), Samoans ($61,000), and other ethnic minorities also have family incomes much less than the Hawai‘i median, which reflects their lower occupational status. (203)

Okamura might have looked for and presented data on the percentage of dual-income households and single-income households among these groups, and if housing or housing allowances provided by the US government were included in military household incomes or not; also percentages of recent immigrants in each group. Households of recently arrived foreign workers generally have lower incomes than households who have resided in Hawai‘i for more than one generation; see subsection 4.46 below for a discussion of stratification of occupations by arrival date of the initial group of migrants.) Levels of education of household income earners also affects occupational status and incomes.

Instead of presenting a complex analysis of household incomes of ethnic groups, Okamura uses data simplistically to imply that the lower occupational status of some groups and their lower household income was caused by “Japanese American Settler Colonial Power.”

4.45

In “Japanese American Settler Colonial Power in Hawai‘i,” Okamura

also reports that, not surprisingly, higher median family income correlated with higher house ownership rates:

> ... Japanese Americans (73.6 percent) and Okinawan Americans (77.3 percent) have the highest rates among households, well above the state median (56.9 percent), which is among the lowest in the U.S. (Hawai‘i DBEDT 2018: 14). Local Chinese (64.1 percent) also exceed the median for Hawai‘i, while Whites do not (51.2 percent), which is again attributable to the considerable number of military personnel among them who receive housing benefits. Among the subordinate groups, the homeownership rate of Filipino Americans (57.8 percent) is a little above the median figure, while the rate for Native Hawaiians (55.7 percent) is slightly under it, but [the rates] for Samoans (27.5 percent) and other ethnic minorities [are] well below it. (Okamura 203-204)

Thirteen of my fourteen uncles and aunts were married. (Two who got divorced remarried.) All the spouses worked; all the couples except one had one or both spouses in managerial or professional positions. Like my parents, eleven of the married uncles and aunts acquired houses with their spouses.

Inter-generational wealth transfer also plays a role in home ownership in Hawai‘i. My maternal grandfather gave the family home in Hilo to his oldest son. He gave his other five children $1,000 each in 1959 to help them with the down payments on the homes they purchased in Hawai‘i. His youngest child married a woman whose parents gave the couple a house in Honolulu. Of my dad and his siblings, four relocated to Los Angeles, where housing was less expensive, and bought homes there. Five siblings married, and with spouses working, bought homes in Hawai‘i. My dad’s unmarried sister lived with Grandma in the family home on Maui, helped her widowed mother run the restaurant, then took care of her mother after her mother retired, until Grandma passed at 99. That sister got a share of the sale of the restaurant and house from her surviving brother, which allowed her to live in an assisted living facility until she passed away.

For the groups that came to Hawai‘i after it was settled by Native Hawaiians, my guess would be that inter-generational wealth transfer is highest among the groups that arrived the earliest, that is the groups of White, Chinese, and Japanese ancestry.

4.46

Okamura knows, of course, that the occupational, education, income, and home ownership of Non-native ethnic groups in Hawai'i are generally stratified according to when the groups first came to Hawai'i. Unless the migrants arrive with wealth and education, and not many did, they start at the low end of socioeconomic stratification. Once the migrants began to establish families, their descendants, generally better educated and more familiar with the community and the opportunities it offers, and perhaps benefiting from inter-generational wealth transfer as well, improved their socioeconomic status.

In "Race Relations in Hawai'i" (2000), Okamura notes that the descendants of Chinese migrants who first arrived in Hawai'i in 1854 "had attained considerable socioeconomic mobility by 1940 as a result of the economic advantages they enjoyed in being the first large group recruited for the plantations and the first group to leave for more lucrative work" (57). So their "ascendancy" began ninety years (and three or more generations) after they began arriving in 1852. By 2000, as Okamura's email to Fujikane indicates (see subsection 4.38 above), the Chinese were one of "the dominant groups in the ethnic stratification order," along with Whites, who began arriving before the Chinese, and Japanese Americans, who arrived after.

Large groups of Japanese migrant workers began arriving in 1885 but most didn't start establishing families until the early twentieth century. Filipino migrants began arriving a generation or two after the Japanese, after the US restricted immigration of new Japanese workers in 1907–1908 and banned Japanese immigration in 1924. In 1930, both Japanese and Filipino migrant workers were mainly in low and moderate income occupations. (For occupations of the Japanese, Filipino, Whites, and Hawaiians in the 1930s, see subsections 3.29 and 3.30 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i.")

In "Race Relations in Hawai'i," Okamura reports that from 1940 to 1950, the children of the first Japanese migrants continued to be "overrepresented" in low-wage jobs and service occupations:

> While they were engaged in a long-term process of socioeconomic mobility, in 1940, the largest groups of Japanese American men were employed as blue-collar laborers and

> craftworkers (19 percent) with substantial numbers working as operatives (12 percent) and service workers (8 percent).
>
> Although they represented 40 percent of the labor force of Hawai‘i, Japanese Americans constituted almost three-fourths of domestic service workers (predominantly women), more than one-half of the small farmers and fishermen, one-half of craftworkers, five-eighths of auto mechanics, and more than one-half of the proprietors of retail food stores and restaurants. The largest single occupational category among Japanese Americans was still plantation workers, who by this time were primarily second-generation Nisei rather than immigrant Issei labor recruits, and they comprised nearly one-third (32 percent) of all plantation employees. In contrast, only about 4 percent of Japanese Americans males were professionals and this percentage would increase but slightly to 5.5 percent by 1950. (57–58)

Okamura also reports, “Not until the 1970s would Japanese Americans be significantly represented in professional and managerial work that continued to be dominated by haole” (58). In other words, their “ascendancy” took over eight decades and three or more generations after they began arriving in 1885.

Predictably, the descendants of workers of Filipino ancestry were the last major group of migrants to begin their socioeconomic rise; they were the last major group to arrive, and their immigration continues today, in greater numbers than any other ethnic group. Like early Chinese and Japanese migrants to Hawai‘i, many of the Filipinos in the early twentieth century were bachelors, or left their wives and children in the Philippines and sent their earnings home. The bachelor workers who stayed began starting families in the 1930s and 40s, a generation or two after the Japanese.

The Vietnamese began arriving as refugees after America’s defeat in the Vietnam War in 1973, and after the 1975 fall of the puppet South Vietnamese government that America abandoned after its defeat. Marshallese and other Micronesians began arriving under the 1986 US Compact of Free Association, which granted citizens of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, and the Republic of Palau the right to free entry to live, work, and access health care in the US. The Compact was enacted to compensate those relatively small nations for the negative impacts of US military use of

their islands and ocean, including the testing of over twenty nuclear weapons on Bikini Atoll in the Marshalls between 1946 and 1958.

4.47

In "Japanese Americans: Toward Symbolic Identity" (2008), Okamura attempts to establish that the job status of those of Japanese ancestry, and their higher rates of education attainment, and higher income and house ownership rates, resulted from their "settler colonial power," which supposedly allowed them to exclude others from acquiring college educations, managerial and professional jobs, higher household income, and homes. His "evidence" is that there was an "anti-Japanese backlash" from "other ethnic groups," "especially Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans," who felt that disparities in "political and economic power and resources" resulted from discrimination against them by the political power structure dominated by Whites and "particularly" Japanese Americans:

> By the mid-1970s, a clear "anti-Japanese backlash" had emerged, particularly as a result of the overrepresentation of Japanese Americans in state government jobs and elected political office. These positions included governor, lieutenant governor, two U.S. senators, two (of four) county mayors, and a plurality of state legislators (about 40 percent). Other ethnic groups hence viewed Japanese Americans as "dominating and controlling" island politics and government to their exclusion (Kotani 1985: 158). These groups, especially Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans, contended that Japanese American "success" had been attained at their expense insofar as *they had been discriminated against and marginalized* [italics added] as Japanese Americans advanced themselves politically and socioeconomically (Trask 2000). According to these subordinate minorities, Japanese Americans had obtained far more than their fair share of political and economic power and resources by *unfairly excluding others* [italics added]. Furthermore, they appeared *unwilling to share those benefits and opportunities more equitably* [italics added] with other ethnic groups, as evident from their continuing high proportion of elected and appointed officials and state government workers such as teachers. (106–107)

Okamura claims that Kotani provides "clear" evidence of a "backlash" against "dominating and controlling" Nisei politicians in the mid-1970s. However, Kotani's reference to a "backlash" on the page that Okamura cites isn't in reference to the post-Statehood ascendancy of Nisei politicians, but to pre-Statehood fears of a Japanese political takeover. And Kotani provides only three anecdotal examples of individuals as evidence, which hardly suggests a widespread "backlash": a Filipino barber, a part-Hawaiian stevedore, and a Portuguese businessman expressed fears that with Statehood, the Japs who constituted a plurality of over 30% of the population would control the government (*The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 161).

Rather than provide evidence that politicians of Japanese ancestry discriminated against and excluded others, Okumura avoids responsibility for his allegation by attributing it to Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans. He doesn't explain how Japanese Americans "unfairly" excluded others from obtaining "benefits and opportunities" while taking "far more than their fair share of political and economic power and resources"; or how Japanese Americans were supposed to "share those benefits and opportunities more equitably with other ethnic groups."

Typically, an individual doesn't share with others his or her opportunity to get a job or buy a house; nor does he or she share his or her job or house with others. The allegations Okamura puts into the mouths of "other ethnic groups" assumes that during a legislative session, politicians of Japanese ancestry had the power to bake a pie with all the jobs, income, education, and property in the State, and their responsibility was to cut the pie into the same-sized pieces to hand out to every resident equally, but instead, they cut the pie up into unequal pieces and gave smaller pieces to those of Hawaiian and Filipino ancestry.

4.48

According to Kotani, citing Okamura as his source, in 1985, "even if local Japanese filled a disproportionate percentage of administrative and professional positions in the state government, employees of the State of Hawaii comprised only six percent of the total work force in Hawaii" (171). But did their "disproportionate percentage" in "administrative and professional positions in the state government" representing "six percent of the total work force" result from discrimination, or for some

other reason(s)?

While politicians are usually directly involved in hiring staff for their legislative and executive offices, the hiring procedure for most State jobs involves job-seekers filling out applications to document their qualifications. Those who meet the qualifications are considered for a position. If an applicant who meets the qualifications but doesn't get hired, while someone with lesser qualifications or with no qualifications gets the job, the applicant can file a discrimination lawsuit. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made discrimination in employment illegal:

> [It] prohibits employment discrimination based on race, sex, color, religion and national origin. Title VII applies to private employers, labor unions and employment agencies. The Act prohibits discrimination in recruitment, hiring, wages, assignment, promotions, benefits, discipline, discharge, layoffs and almost every aspect of employment. In 1965, Title VII became law of the land and the EEOC [Equal Employment Opportunity Commission] was established. (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [EEOC]website)

What evidence is there that politicians or administrators of Japanese ancestry practiced discrimination in hiring against other ethnic groups? How many discrimination lawsuits were filed and by whom and against whom? And how many of those lawsuits proved discrimination? In 1985, Kotani reports two anecdotal complaints from Filipino Americans that politicians of American ancestry didn't appoint them to high positions, and that applicants Japanese ancestry "have a better chance" than those of Filipino ancestry to get State jobs because getting hired is all about "who you know, not what you know" (175). However, during the two decades of the 1970s and 80s, Kotani reports only two discrimination lawsuits and one formal complaint: one lawsuit and the complaint were filed by White applicants who believed they were qualified, but were passed over for positions because they were White. The other lawsuit was filed by over one hundred White dentists who failed their dental board examinations; the group claimed discrimination because applicants of Asian ancestry passed the exams "at a significantly higher rate" than Whites, which in their minds was not possible if the exams were fairly administered (175). Kotani doesn't report the results of the two lawsuits and complaint.

4.49

In 1984, I applied for a full-time tenure-track writing instructor position at the State's Kapiʻolani Community College. I was interviewed by a committee consisting of a Nisei department chair and two senior faculty members, a woman of Portuguese ancestry and a local White woman who was an advocate for Hawaiian land issues and a rural-lifestyle in Makaua, Kaʻaʻawa, and Waiʻāhole on the windward side of Oʻahu, where she lived. Previously, she taught English at the high school I attended, although I wasn't in her class and didn't meet her until after I started lecturing part-time at the college. After the interviews of qualified candidates, the chair and committee recommended me for hiring to the dean, who was a recently hired Black, from Alabama, with a PhD in Political Science from the UH; he made the final decision.

The other finalist for the position was a woman of Hispanic ancestry. She had a Master's degree and taught non-transfer level vocational and technical writing courses as a part-time lecturer at the college for several years before me. My qualifications included coursework for a PhD (three years beyond a Master's) and experience in teaching expository and business writing at the University of Washington and the University of Hawaiʻi. At the time, the college wanted to offer more transfer-level writing courses in addition to its vocational and technical writing courses, so it hired me to write course outlines for new courses and teach them.

The candidate of Hispanic ancestry may have viewed my hiring as discriminatory—a Jap department chair hiring a Jap instructor. If she had filed a lawsuit, however, she would have lost. After I was hired, she accepted a part-time assignment at the college to teach three or four vocational and technical writing classes as a lecturer, then resigned on the first day of class, forcing the Nisei chair to scramble to find other lecturers to teach the abandoned courses. Was the lecturer's action an example of "anti-Jap backlash" or just a decision by her to move on in her career? Was she hired for a new job on the first day of college classes and had to start on that day or during the semester, so she couldn't possibly teach the classes assigned to her?

On the other hand, in 1992, I applied for and didn't get a position to teach Asian American literature in the English Department at the University of Hawaiʻi. Was it because of an "anti-Jap backlash" by Whites who controlled the department and who were angry that Japs were taking over the State and the University; or because I was less

qualified than the candidate who got the job? I wrote my dissertation on Japanese American literature in 1988, but hadn't written or published anything about Asian American literature in the four years since. I was more interested in researching, writing about, and publishing anthologies of Hawaiian literature translated into English in the late nineteenth and early-twentieth century, so teachers could introduce the literature to multiethnic students (predominantly Non-native) in their courses in public schools and local colleges. (See "Publications of Kalamakū Press.") I submitted as part of my application a collection of Hawaiian fishing legends that I selected, annotated, introduced, and self-published in 1992. The candidate who was hired for the position was a scholar of Chinese ancestry who grew up in Hong Kong and was actively researching, writing about, and publishing articles on Asian American literature in scholarly journals. In other words, the person who was hired had better qualifications for the position than I did.

To support allegations of "Asian Settler" discrimination, Okamura needs to provide a more thorough analyses of plausible causal connections between "dominating and controlling" Nisei politicians and administrators and the socioeconomic status of Native Hawaiians and Filipino Americans, along with examples of managerial and professional occupations and their histories, qualifications, hiring procedures, applicant pools, discrimination claims and lawsuits, etc. Otherwise, his allegations in support of Fujikane and the Asian Settlers Club's myth of Asian Settler Colonialism are merely examples of the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* fallacy: Nisei get elected to political office; Nisei hold a high percentage of managerial and professional positions in State government or the State; therefore, Nisei politicians excluded qualified applicants of other ethnicities from getting managerial and professional positions.

Racial prejudices are prevalent among all the ethnic groups. That doesn't mean that people can't put their prejudices aside and make rational decisions when hiring employees. The leaders of the Asian Settlers Club use statistics about occupational status merely to prop up their contemporary variant of the "Fear-the-Jap-Takeover" rhetoric that White and Hawaiian demagogues established during the first half of the twentieth century to demonize Japs.

Okamura, the statistician of the Asian Setters Club, recalls that he was an undergraduate math major, then was encouraged by one of his professors to go to graduate school, where he switched to social anthropology for a PhD degree ("Preface" in *Japanese American*

Ethnicity, Identity and Power in Hawai'i ix). However, he has a habit of citing statistics without providing any detailed or relevant analysis of their significance. Apparently lacking skills for analyzing connections among data on complex socioeconomic and historical conditions, he might have been more useful as a public school math teacher than as a UH Ethnic Studies professor, to help the State with its chronic shortage of math teachers.

4.50

One of the professions controlled by the State was public school One of the professions controlled by the State was public school teaching. As in the 1930s, in the 1980s, teaching was the largest category of professional occupations: in 1980, of the 42,000 or so positions classified as professional, 10,000 were teachers, or about 25% of professional positions. A permanent teaching position in Hawai'i's public schools required a Bachelor's degree and a teaching certificate. The Nisei who acquired teaching degrees after the war were prepared to apply for the positions that became available in the 1950s and 60s when the generation of Baby Boomers, including many Sansei, began enrolling in increasing numbers in the public schools, and the Department of Education (DOE) built new schools and hired teachers to staff them. Nisei school teachers filled critical teaching positions in the post-war economy, contributing to the post-war economic boom. Once tenured, Nisei teachers could hold their positions for twenty or thirty years and educate two generations of students of all ethnicities.

The Nisei, especially women, were attracted to the teaching profession for the same reasons many Native Hawaiian women entered the profession in the 1930s: the public schools didn't discriminate against Non-whites or females or Buddhists, in hiring and promotions; they had a schedule of standardized pay and also provided maternity leave and job security for married women. (For a discussion of the teaching profession in the 1930s, when most of the teachers in the public schools were White or Native Hawaiian, see subsection 3.31 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i.").

After the war, three of my dad's seven sisters and one of his two brothers earned teaching degrees and taught in public schools, one on Maui and three in Los Angeles; one of my mom's older brothers also became a public school teacher in Hilo, as did his first wife. After

Dad quit his job as an electronic technician, he taught electronics at Roosevelt High School in Honolulu. He decided to make teaching his second career and enrolled in courses at the UH to become a certified teacher; however, he was ill with lung cancer and passed away before finishing the coursework.

Before Nisei teachers began retiring in the 1980s and 1990s, some of their children, the Sansei, followed them into teaching careers and began retiring in the 2000s and 2010s. Many other Sansei decided to pursue careers with higher salaries than teaching, like medicine, nursing, law, engineering, computer science, and college professorships.

Instead of praising the Nisei and Sansei for getting college degrees in education and filling critical workforce needs in the community for four or five decades after Statehood, Fujikane criticizes them for being "overrepresented," reporting that in 2005, 34% percent of teachers in the public schools were of Japanese ancestry while residents of Japanese ancestry were only 23–24% of the population. Only 10 percent of the teachers were Hawaiians, who were 20–21% of the population; only 6 percent were Filipinos, who were 23–25% of the population (""Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i."" 25). Like Okamura, Fujikane assumes, without evidence, that the "overrepresentation" of the Nisei and Sansei in teaching was due to their mythic "Japanese American Settler Colonial Power."

Fujikane and Okamura neglect to mention that the State Department of Education has suffered from chronic teacher shortages throughout its history. As Kirk-Kuwaye reported in 2015, Hawai‘i recruited teachers from the continent since "at least 1862" ("Normal School and Haole Teachers"). Recruitment from outside the State continued through the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first century. When I was in high school in the 1960s, new cadres of young White female teachers appeared on the teaching staff at the beginning of each year, along with new young teachers of Japanese and other ancestries who had just graduated from and were certified as teachers by the University of Hawai‘i's Department of Education.

The teacher shortages have been especially critical in areas like math and science, with fewer majors than other disciplines. My Nisei teacher for algebra and trigonometry in high school was trained as a Social Studies teacher. Relatively low teacher salaries and Hawai‘i's high cost of living have also made it increasingly difficult to recruit teachers from the continent. Symptomatic of the low salaries was a 20-day strike in 2001 by the public school teachers' union. Teachers

educated locally also began moving to other States where teacher salaries were higher and the costs of living lower. The Department of Education recently reported that since 2012, the number of teachers leaving Hawaii has increased by more than 70 percent.

In 2016-2017, with the population percentage of Japanese ancestry decreasing (between 2010 and 2020, from 23% to 21.5%), the percentage of teachers of Japanese ancestry was 24.4%, down from the 34% that alarmed Fujikane in 2005. The number of teachers of White ancestry was also down, from 27% of the total to 24.5%. In 2020, the percentages of Native teachers (10.1%) and teachers of Filipino ancestry (6.8%) remained about the same as in 2005, even though their percentages of the total population were slightly higher. The data suggests that teachers of Japanese and White ancestry, retiring or moving elsewhere, were being replaced by teacher in the category of "Other," which included those of mixed ethnicities, who were now 25.5% of teachers, up from 16% of the total teachers in the categories of "Mixed" and "Other" in 2005.

As chronic teacher shortages persisted in the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, and the number of teachers of Japanese ancestry fell, where were the qualified applicants of Hawaiian and Filipino ancestry whom the Asian Settlers Club imagined wanted teaching jobs and were qualified, but were denied positions by politicians and administrators of Japanese ancestry?

The Hawai‘i Department of Education continued to recruit teachers from outside of Hawai‘i. In 2024, faced with teacher shortages, the State Department of Education recruited around 200 teachers from the Philippines to fill vacancies, and that recruitment continued in 2025.

4.51

Like the descendants of Japanese ancestry, the descendants of Non-Japanese ancestry like those of Filipino and Native ancestry whom Fujikane and Okamura stigmatize as "subordinate" have been and are free to pursue college educations to qualify for higher-paying jobs and increase their income level, and house ownership rates. In 1994, the first governor of Filipino ancestry, Ben Cayetano, was elected. Born in Honolulu in 1939, he was raised in Kalihi by a single stepfather. After graduating from high school with poor grades, he was passed over for a draftsman position for which he applied in the State Department of Transportation. He told television journalist Leslie Wilcox that his

test score for the job was “almost perfect,” the highest out of the one hundred or so applicants, and the test score was weighted as 70% of the job qualification. Cayetano doesn’t specify what other factors counted for the other 30%, but the job interviewer told him that he preferred to hire someone with military service, which Cayetano didn’t have. However, Cayetano found out later the person who was hired wasn’t a veteran, but was someone of the same ethnicity as the interviewer. Cayetano’s conclusion was that the interviewer lied to him and speculates that he was a victim of discrimination or that he wasn’t chosen because “I didn’t have any connections in State government.” Disgusted that he wasn’t hired, in 1963 he decided to move with his wife and children to Los Angeles (“Ben Cayetano” 8–9).

Cayetano wanted to go to law school, but acknowledged to Wilcox, “I gotta say that I hadn’t been prepared as well as others. I wasn’t sure my grades were good enough” (9). However, he was admitted to UCLA, where he earned a bachelor’s degree in Political Science in 1968, then graduated with a degree from Loyola Law School in 1971. After returning to Hawai‘i with his degrees and working as a lawyer, he pursued a political career. Apparently, now that he had a college degree and a law degree, his ethnicity no longer hindered his ascent to the governorship, during years when the percentage of Filipinos in Hawai‘i’s population was relatively low (but increasing): 12% in 1970,

Ben Cayetano, Governor of Hawai‘i, 1994–2002

14% in 1980, and 15% in 1990. He was elected to the State House of Representatives (1975–1978), then won a seat in the State Senate in 1979. In 1986, he ran for the Statewide office of Lieutenant Governor as the running mate of Native gubernatorial candidate John Waihe‘e. Waihe‘e and Cayetano won.

Cayetano is remembered for working with Charles Toguchi, the Superintendent of Education of Japanese ancestry appointed by Waihe‘e in 1987, to establish a successful afterschool program for children of working parents. After two years, the program enrolled 28,000 of an estimated 30,000 “latchkey” children who, according to Cayetano, were “wandering the streets” after school—“they go to the libraries, they go the shopping malls, or they go home, and nobody’s caring for them” (“Ben Cayetano” 5). (Nothing wrong with going to a library to read books.)

Cayetano served two four-year terms as governor (1994–2002) during which he continued to support education by extending the academic year by a week and building thirteen new schools. Contract disputes between the State and the public school teachers union and the UH faculty union led to strikes by both unions in 2001.

In 1996, Cayetano divorced his first wife and the following year married Vicky Tiu Liu, a successful businesswoman of Chinese ancestry, whose family was from the Philippines. As a child, Vicky appeared in a movie, “It Happened at the World’s Fair“ (1963), starring Elvis Presley. Cayetano and his new wife bought a home on Hawai‘iloa Ridge, a gated community in East Honolulu with its own tennis courts, parks, club house and security. He had ascended far above his roots in the working-class neighborhood of Kalihi, in West Honolulu.

In 1930, only 32.5% of children of Filipino ancestry (3,989 students, aged 5 to 20 years old) were attending public schools in Hawai‘i, less than half the percentages of children in school of other ancestries: 77.9% of Korean ancestry (1,786 students); 75.8% of Chinese ancestry (9,684 students); 71.5% of the Nisei (40,717 students); 71.2% of Caucasian Hawaiians (4,963 students), and 70.4% of Asiatic Hawaiians (4,448 students). 60.3% of Native children were also attending school (4,471 students). (See subsection 3.47, in “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

By 2000, Trask included the descendants of Filipino migrants as part of the post-war Asian American “ascendancy” (“Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony” 3). While Fujikane quotes Okamura’s

conclusion about 2000 census data indicating that socioeconomically "Filipino Americans continue to occupy subordinate positions" in contrast to "Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans and Whites" (23), she neglects to mention that the population of Filipino ancestry included relatively recent migrants entering the workforce at the lower end of the socioeconomic stratification, just as earlier groups of migrants had.

4.52

Like the community of Japanese ancestry, the Native community valued education as a way to prepare its people to navigate toward a better future and to perpetuate the Native culture and traditions. In "The Impact of the U.S. Occupation on the Hawaiian People" (2018), Keanu Sai, chair of the Acting Council of Regency of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, noted that during the Hawaiian Monarchy,

> Education was a hallowed word in the halls of the Hawaiian government, "and there is no official title more envied or respected in the islands than that of a member of the board of public instruction (Charles De Varigny, Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands, 1855-1868 (1981), p. 151.") De Varigny explains that this "is because there is no civic question more debated, or studied with greater concern, than that of education. In all the annals of the Hawaiian Legislature one can find not one example of the legislative houses refusing—or even reducing—an appropriation requested by the government for public education. It is as if this magic word alone seems to possess the prerogative of loosening the public purse strings (Id.)."

King Kalākaua (r. 1874–1891) established a study abroad program for young Hawaiians and sent students like Robert Wilcox to Italy and Jonah Kūhi‘ō Kalanianaole to California, Japan, and England for schooling. The two men served as the first two US Congressional delegates for the US Territory. Queen Lili‘uokalani supported future mayor John Wilson's study of engineering at Stanford University.

In 1914, Congressional delegate Kalanianaole hosted a meeting at his Waikīkī residence of two hundred Native leaders who "agreed to form the Ahahui Pu‘uhonua O Na Hawai‘i," an association to "uplift the Hawaiian people" (MacGregor, "'Āina Ho‘opulapula:

Hawaiian Homesteading" 1; "Pu'uhonua" refers to a place of safety.) A constitution and bylaws for the organization were drafted by Kūhiō, Reverend Akaiko Akana, Reverend John Wise, Honolulu Mayor John Lane, and attorney Noa Webster Aluli. A newspaper was published from 1914–1928, to attract activists to help Natives advance socioeconomically through "education, steady work, sobriety, and commercial enterprise" (2):

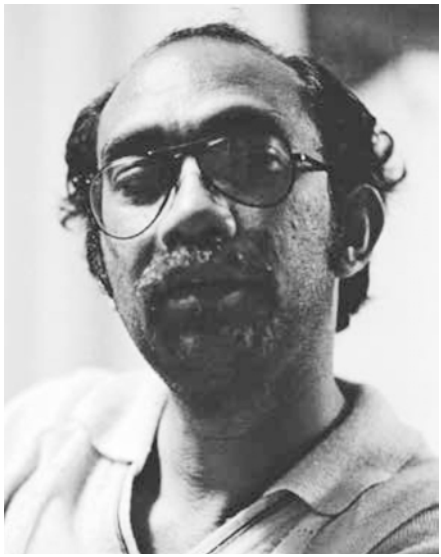
> The volunteers worked through special agencies to get as many Hawaiian students as possible to take up special training in agriculture, medicine, law, dentistry, and other skills and trades that would help uplift the race. They encouraged the Hawaiians to purchase or lease homestead lands to live upon and secure their food and other necessities of life. In Honolulu, they encouraged Hawaiians to purchase and own and never to sell their own homes. (5)

In 1919, the Territorial legislature invited the Federal Commission of Education to visit Hawai'i and evaluate its school system. The commission recommended more funding for high school education, and an increase in the number of high schools, particularly in rural areas. The recommendations were opposed by some members of plantation management, who felt that high schools would teach the children of laborers (including the Native working class) useless ideas about freedom and democracy, and that public schools should train students for useful jobs in the trades or in agricultural work, not for "the higher positions in life" (Fuchs 269).

Of course, during that era, there weren't many positions for managers, professionals, and public service in Hawai'i, and most of them were already occupied by Whites. (For statistics on managers, professionals, and government employees among the major ethnic groups in Hawai'i in 1930, see subsections 3.29 and 3.30 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai'i.) Whites wanted to keep such jobs for themselves and their children, not educate Non-whites to take them. If more managers, professionals, and government employees were needed, they could be recruited from the Settler State of America, as many White teachers were for the public school system. It wasn't until after World War II and Statehood, with the growth of the economy driven by the expansion of military bases and the expanding federal and state government, then by

tourism and development, did jobs for college graduates become more plentiful and workforce shortages were filled by qualified Non-whites.

4.53



Larry Kamakawiwo‘ole (Photo by Ed Greevey, Kubota 129).

If Native Hawaiians between 5 and 20 were attending public schools at about the same percentage rate as those of Asian and White ancestry in 1930 (as reported in subsection 3.47 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i), what accounts for the lower percentage of college degree-attainment of Natives reported in the US Census Bureau's "2011-2015 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates" (as report in subsection 4.42 above.) The story of Larry Kamakawiwo‘ole, who graduated from Kamehameha High School for Boys around 1961 and who was appointed director of the UH Ethnic Studies program in 1972 sheds some light on that question.

In an interview with Gary Kubota for the Kōkua Hawai‘i Oral History Project, Kamakawiwo‘ole reflected on his high school class, in which more students were in the sections for vocational and business training than for college preparation, as was typical of public high schools (but not of other private high schools) during the first half of the twentieth century:

> I'm not sure what career expectations my classmates had, but our class was divided into three sections — college prep, business, and vocational. I was in the college prep section. Most of us attended the University of Hawaii-Manoa, and some attended colleges on the mainland. Out of the approximately 125 students, there were about 25 students in this section. I attended and graduated from UH. The vocational section had

> the largest number of students. After graduation, my classmates in the vocational section entered the military, police academy, fire department, auto industry, carpentry, agriculture, welding, and other career fields. In all three sections, whatever carrier paths we chose, our class did quite well. (Kubota 131–132)

In other words, business and vocational careers were considered good careers to pursue after high school (not subordinate occupations, as Fujikane assumes), and 80% of the boys at Kamehameha Schools pursued such careers. However, during the last three decades of the twentieth century, recognizing the importance of a college education for Native students, Kamehameha Schools transitioned from a school in which 80% of the boys were in the sections for business, and vocational training, to a school in which practically all its students were in college preparatory classes. (For the role of Myron "Pinky" Thompson in this transformation, see subsection 4.34 above. Thompson served as a trustee from 1974–1994.)

Kamakawiwoʻole also recalls:

> I was a good student at KSB. But my father did not want me to attend college. He wanted me to get a job and help with family expenses. He told me he would not financially help me if I attended the University of Hawaii. Fortunately, for my freshman year, I got a scholarship from the Honolulu Rotary Club. To supplement my income, I worked part-time at the university bookstore and later at Hawaiian Airlines as a baggage handler. (132)

Kamakawiwoʻole went on to get two graduate degrees, one from the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley and one in Education at the UH. In 1971, he organized the Kokua Kalama committee to oppose the eviction of tenants and farmers from Kalama Valley, which Trask recognizes as the beginning of the Modern Hawaiian Movement. ("The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, Oʻahu." The story of how Kamakawiwoʻole got involved in this movement is told in subsection 5.1 ff., in "5. Non-natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After.") In 1972, Kamakawiwoʻole became the first director of the nascent Ethnic Studies program at the UH. (See subsection 4.60 below.)

In his introduction to F*orward without Fear: Native Hawaiians and American Education in Territorial Hawai'i, 1900–1941*, Derek Taira, a Non-native who self-identifies as "fourth-generation mixed-race Okinawan-Ryukyuan settler born and raised in Kona, Hawai'i," summarizes his book about Native Hawaiians in the public schools during the first four decades of the twentieth century, based on interviews and writings of students and teachers:

> *Forward without Fear* ... argues that many Hawaiians of this era neither subscribed nor succumbed to the aggressive efforts in the public schools to assimilate and Americanize but, instead, actively engaged with American education to help envision and support an alternate future in which they intentionally sought to exclude themselves from settler society in order to maintain their cultural distinctiveness and protect their Indigenous identity. Framing their engagement with public schooling in this way places great emphasis on how they would have understood their actions—as flexible and productive steps for securing their cultural sovereignty and safeguarding their future as Native Hawaiians. (Introduction 15)

Taira's 2024 book is based on his 2016 PhD dissertation for the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which included in its title the Hawaiian phrase "Imua, Me Ka Hopo Ole [sic]" ("Forward, Without Fear"). In his summary of chapter 3 of his dissertation, he writes that Native students:

> ... selectively received, engaged, and rejected various aspects of their schooling in order to obtain skills useful for attaining financial stability and social mobility. However, this was not a solitary endeavor. Parents represented a crucial support network encouraging student success and promoting cultural values at home to offset assimilationist efforts at school. (14–15)

Taira points out that Native students realized doing well in school would benefit their families and the Native community as well as help to restore Native culture. The students also expressed their appreciation for their parents and grandparents support for their education, including

learning English (and not speaking to their children in Hawaiian, which disappointed or hurt some students); moving to urban areas like Honolulu and Hilo for better access to schools; making sure students had time to study rather than working part-time; and encouraging students to continue on to high school and college.

Many students also expressed their disappointment, frustration, and anger at the racial prejudice they felt from Whites (Imua, Me Ka Hopo Ole 90–119). One student, Charles W. Kenn, a graduate of McKinley, Hawai‘i’s first public high school, wrote in “I Am a Hawaiian” (an article published in *Paradise of the Pacific*, November 1936):

> I do not want to become a sorry imitation white man. I want to retain some of my own individuality. I want to know something about my own people, and I want to retain that knowledge for posterity. (118)

In the summary of Chapter 4 of his book (“Seemingly Compliant, but Quietly Defiant: Native Hawaiian Educators in Settler Hawai‘i Schools”), Taira writes that “Native teachers and school principals, the vast majority of whom were women,” worked under White administrators with a White teacher majority, but they::

> ... conceptualized and engaged their professions in ways that benefited them personally (providing financial independence, adventure, advancement opportunities, professional career, respect), supported their families (giving them economic security), and improved their community (serving as role models, mentors, active volunteers, and Native cultural and language arts practitioners). While not openly challenging school policies and white schoolmen, many of these female educational leaders implemented agendas inside and outside of their classrooms that disrupted Americanization efforts, as well as broader tourist tropes that sexualized and objectified Native Hawaiian women, by asserting themselves as positive role models navigating colonizing spaces. (Introduction 15)

Native resistance to assimilation and Americanization may have been a factor in the percentage of Natives who went on to pursue college degrees.

4.55

In 1985, Kotani wrote that Japanese American principals and teachers, who dominated the public schools during the second half of twentieth century, "were often perceived as lacking 'significant sensitivity' to the cultures of Native Hawaiian and immigrant students" (174). Did "cultural insensitivity" of school administrators and teachers of Japanese ancestry result in discrimination against Natives and migrants or the children of migrants, hindering their educational achievements and holding them back from advancing socioeconomically? If so, how? Kotani doesn't address that question, although he seems to assume that "cultural insensitivity" hindered students who were not of Japanese ancestry. Fujikane and Okamura, no doubt, would agree, although they, too, don't address the question of how "cultural insensitivity" might affect learning.

The lack of "cultural sensitivity" of teachers shouldn't surprise anyone. Before the last three decades of the twentieth century, teachers, principals, and professors of all ethnicities were educated when White American was the standard, and students were taught what most of their teachers were taught—a standard White American and European curriculum. The expectation was that students attend class every day, listen to lectures and take notes, go home and do readings in the textbook and assignments to prepare for the next class, study and memorize what they learned, and write papers or pass tests on the subjects taught.

During over two decades of attending Hawai‘i's public schools and the University of Hawai‘i and the University of Washington (1956 to 1979), I was taught by dozens of teachers and professors—mostly of White and Asian ancestry, and a couple who were Native Hawaiian. (See subsection 4.27 above, about one of my tenth grade teachers, Jessica Kirk, the sister of Native carpenters union leader Walter Kupau.) I wouldn't describe most of my teachers as "culturally sensitive," although I appreciated that they came prepared with lessons and activities every day to teach us what they could about the complicated world we lived in. Some introduced a craft or a reading related to Hawai‘i, China, Japan, or the Philippines to acknowledge the multiethnic students in their classes, but such assignments were occasional, not essential components of the predominantly White curriculum.

My Americanization began in kindergarten (1956-1957) at Ben Parker Elementary in Kāne‘ohe. Our teacher was Nisei, a recent UH

graduate. For the class photo at Thanksgiving (which Mom saved for me), we wore "Indian" headbands that our teacher taught us to make—a strip of construction paper taped together to fit around our heads. We drew designs on the headbands with crayons, and some of the kids brought bird feathers from home and wore them upright at the back of the bands to imitate "Indians," as depicted in the black-and-white TV cartoons we watched on weekend mornings. None of the students, as far as I know, was Native American or knew anything about Native American cultures except what we saw in TV cartoons. At least our teacher didn't make us wear pilgrim hats, perhaps because she thought they would be too complicated for us to make, or use up too much of her classroom's limited supply of construction paper for the year.

A multiethnic kindergarten class at Ben Parker (1956–1957) with our recently graduated teacher of Japanese ancestry standing in the back row, on the right. One student didn't wear a headband; perhaps she was absent on the day the class made them.

Americanization continued in the first grade (1957-1958). The teacher was Mrs. Fukushima, also Nisei, but middle-aged. Along with memorizing the Pledge of Allegiance to the USA and reciting it rotely every morning, we read about Dick and Jane and their dog Spot, who lived in a generic White neighborhood somewhere far away. Fortunately, Mom also started taking her three children to the public

library to browse for and borrow books, and in the second and third grade, we also learned to use the school library. I knew how to find and read about whatever I was interested in, although the majority of the books in the libraries were about White America and Europe. Dad and Mom also bought a set of the *World Book Encyclopedia*, so we could read about topics not covered in our elementary school textbooks.

In the second grade (1957-1958), our teacher, Mrs. Meek, was part-Hawaiian. That year we practiced penmanship, took spelling tests, and learned addition and subtraction. Before class, a few of the boys would wait near the parking lot in the morning to watch our teacher kiss her husband when he dropped her off. I was curious because my Nisei parents never kissed each other (or their children) and never displayed affection in public. I saw that sort of public display of affection only in TV programs and movies. When we asked a Hawaiian classmate, Melvin Malloe, "What is love?" he puckered his lips and pretended to kiss an imaginary girl. We laughed. Melvin disappeared the following year and reappeared in public school ten years later, for our senior year at Castle High (1968–1969), where he played tackle on the football team. I heard he had attended Kamehameha Schools during the decade he was gone, but never found out why he returned to a public school for his senior year.

In the third grade (1959–1960), Mrs. Ah Choy, of Chinese ancestry, was perhaps the most "culturally sensitive" teacher I had. She taught us to make teru-teru bōzu, a home-made doll children in Japan hang in a window and sing a prayer to, to bring good weather the next day. We made the dolls with a square piece of white cloth cut from an old sheet, a wad of cloth, and a piece of string to tie the wad inside the middle of the square to form a head. We drew smiley faces on the heads with marsh pens. The dolls reminded me of the TV cartoon character Caspar, the Friendly Ghost.

Mrs. Ah Choy taught us the teru-teru bōzu song in Japanese: "Teru-teru bōzu, teru bōzu / Ashita tenki ni shite o-kure ...." ("Teru-teru bōzu, Make tomorrow a sunny day ...."; "Teru-teru" means "to shine brightly," and "bōzu" is a priest.) I became attached to my bōzu doll and took him to bed with me at night until Mom put him in the washing machine one day to give him a bath. When he came out, his head was warped and his face was askew, so I threw him away. Mrs. Ah Choy also taught us to make gau, a sweet sticky Chinese dessert eaten on New Year's Day to ensure the family would stick together during the following year. For the same reason, the Japanese pound and eat sticky

mochi rice cakes on New Year's Day. That year for Chinese New Year, with Mom's help, I made a batch of gau for our family.

The third grade class play was based on a European fairy tale. A White girl who wasn't very attractive lobbied for the role of the princess, but the class voted for Mrs. Ah Choy's cute daughter to play that role. The White girl ended up with the role of the witch and did well in it. A memorable classmate was Hawaiian-Portuguese Gerald Santos, whom we nicknamed Elvis [Presley] because of his beautiful singing voice and pomaded hair (which was light, not dark brown). He transferred to Kamehameha Schools the following year, but during the 1970s, I heard him sing again, both live and recorded, when he was Jerry Santos, a member of the well-known Hawaiian music duo Olomana.

In the fourth grade (1960–1961), the curriculum was supposed to include "Hawaiiana," but Miss Johnson, our elderly White teacher from the Midwest knew nothing about Hawaiian culture. Her classroom had an interesting collection of shells and reef creatures preserved in bottles of formaldehyde. She lived in Kaʻaʻawa, in a beach house with a wall made of coral rock, and invited her favorite students over for lunch one Saturday.

That year, for our dance performance in the school's annual May Day program, the fourth graders were assigned a hula. A kumu (Native teacher) from the community taught us a hula noho (sitting hula) to the song "Kalena Kai." Later I learned that the lyrics were from a chant written by King Liholiho (Kamehameha II), about a journey he made from Oʻahu to Kauaʻi, celebrating the famous places of the Waialua District on Oʻahu—Mt. Kaʻala, whose refreshing waters flow down the gulch of Haleʻauʻau to the land section of Kalena Kai and the fertile plains of Mokulēiʻa, where sea spray rises along the shore. The song wasn't particularly relevant to our school in Kāneʻohe, in the Koʻolaupoko District, where refreshing water flows down to the plains from the peaks of Keahiakahoe, Lanihuli, and Kōnāhuanui. Still "Kalena Kai" was one of the only Hawaiian songs and the only Hawaiian hula we were taught during my years of education in public schools.

Two other Hawaiian songs I recall from elementary school were Nona Beamer's beautiful lullaby "Pūpū Hinuhinu" ("Shiny shells") and "Hawaiʻi Pōnoʻi," written by King David Kalākaua. "Hawaiʻi Pōnoʻi" became the national anthem of the Kingdom in 1876 and was adopted as the anthem by the Republic of White Oligarchs, the US

Territory, and the State of Hawai‘i. In the 1980s, when I knew enough Hawaiian to understand the lyrics, I realized the song was urging true sons of Hawai‘i (Natives) to be loyal to the Mō‘i (King) and defend him with spears. I wasn’t sure what to make of the song as a State anthem. Were the legislators who adopted the song calling for restoration of the Monarchy? Or did they interpret the song metaphorically? Or did they not understand the lyrics?

In the fifth grade, our teacher was Miss Woodruff, who like Miss Johnson, was an elderly White woman. Both probably came from the continent in the 1920s or 30s for teaching jobs, and unlike the many who went back, stayed in Hawai‘i to teach. We performed the traditional Maypole Dance on May Day, which was assigned to the fifth graders every year. The dance was introduced from Germanic Europe to Britain in medieval times. Dancing around the pole and weaving in and out of the other half of the class circling in the opposite direction was fun. The sixth graders that year performed the Continental Line Dance, which was popular with teenagers in the 1960s, and we fifth graders thought it was very cool, and looked forward to learning that dance the following year, but when we were sixth graders, the school decided to have us wear shorts and t-shirts and perform calisthenics to exercise music blaring over the loud speaker.

Our principal in the sixth grade was a Nisei World War II veteran, and our teacher was also Nisei, Mrs. Miyasato. To improve our reading comprehension, we were assigned color-coded SRA Reading Laboratory cards that came in a box from the continent. We finished the highest level, Purple, halfway through the year. Of course, none of the readings were about Hawai‘i or Japan. When I had the choice of a topic for a Social Studies report, I choose Canada because my mom had a high school pen pal living there; her pen pal sent her some Canadian bills and coins to include in my report.

4.56

Despite the lack of readings in Japanese culture and history in the public school curriculum, I was connected to my ancestral culture through my parents and grandmothers. (Both of my grandfathers had passed away before I got to know them.) During childhood, Mom read me what became my favorite folktale, featuring Momo-tarō (“Peach Boy”), who was born from a peach and grew up to lead a monkey, dog, and pheasant against a band of ogres who were plundering the region

Momotarō demonstates to his three animal companions the magic wish-fulfilling mallet he took from the ogres. On the ground near his feet are the raincoat and rain-hat of invisibility.

where he and his parents lived. Momo-tarō and his animal warriors defeated the ogres and brought home a hoard of gold and silver, as well as a magic wish-fulfilling mallet he took from the ogres, along with a raincoat and rain-hat of invisibility.

My mom's mother came to help my working mom babysit us during summers in the mid-50s. Grandma took my brother and me to samurai and obaké (ghost) movies, which were shown on Tuesday nights at Kāne'ohe Theater. At home, when Grandma tuned in on her transistor radio to Japanese-language radio station KOHO, we heard enka music. I sensed a nostalgia and longing in the singers' voices, although I didn't understand the lyrics; years later, I learned many of the songs express longing for hometowns, family, and friends, like the ones Grandma left behind when she came to Hawai'i as an eighteen-year-old picture bride in 1914. They were songs of the diaspora of farmers and their children who left rural villages and towns to find work in cities and in foreign countries during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.

On our black-and-white TV, we also watched Kaze Kozo ("Wind Rascal," 1958) on the Japanese station KIKU, about a boy samurai who could appear and disappear like the wind and who defeated bad guys and demons. The Christmas after we watched Kaze Kozo on TV,

Record jacket for the theme song of Kaze Kozo ("Wind Rascal"

my brother and I asked for toy samurai swords rather than six-shooters.

When we visited my dad's mother on Maui in the summers of the fifties and sixties, she took us to bon dances at the Ha‘ikū Buddhist temple where the Kawaharada family worshiped, and to Kenjin-kai picnics at Baldwin Park in Pā‘ia, and Kalama Beach Park in Kīhei, where the Issei from Hiroshima Prefecture and their descendants on Maui gathered to celebrate their community and their roots.

My parents didn't teach us the ancestral culture formally, but through everyday activities, like eating Japanese foods and condiments, playing with hanafuda (48 cards with Japanese motifs of the four seasons pictured on them), visiting family, attending Buddhist memorial services, and participating in annual celebrations like mochi-pounding on New Year's day. Dad struck me as very Japanese in his family values, discipline, quiet demeanor, and stoicism, unlike the talkative, gregarious White fathers we saw portrayed in TV sitcoms.

4.57

In the seventh grade (1963–1964), we were again allowed to choose a topic for a research paper. I already knew about Japanese culture from my family, so I chose to write a report on the Philippines because one of my best friends, Lloyd Hamocon, was of half-Filipino ancestry. One Saturday, my mom drove me to the Filipino Consulate in Nu‘uanu to interview the Consul General for the report. Over two decades later, in 2006, when I was serving for a couple of years as an interim dean of Health Sciences and Nursing at Kapi‘olani Community College, I had an opportunity to visit the Philippines with an entourage led by Hawai‘i

Sister-State University Exchange Program and Nursi
Signing with University of Hawai'i Kapi'olani Community
University of Northern Philippines
Vigan City

Governor Lingle signing an agreement between Kapi'olani Community College's nursing program and the nursing program of the University of Northern Philippines, in Vigan City.

Governor Linda Lingle, who served from 2002 to 2010. Our college's two-year nursing program signed an agreement to provide consulting to upgrade nursing programs in the Philippines, so that their students, if they emigrated (which many were interested in doing), could more easily meet the State's licensing requirements when they came.

During my years at Castle Intermediate and High School from the eighth to the twelfth grade (1964–1969), we were taught about White culture and history to prepare us to study White culture and history in the College of Arts and Sciences at the UH. When my brother entered Castle in 1962, the only foreign language offered to meet the Arts and Sciences language requirement was Latin, which was offered at Hilo High School when my mom enrolled in 1941. My brother took a year of Latin and hated it, so he never took the second year, which was required to get into Arts and Sciences. He ended up in the College of Engineering. When I was at Castle, two years of French were added to the curriculum, taught by a Nisei veteran who had learned French after serving in France during World War II. I took two years of French. The high school added two years of Japanese before I graduated, funded

by the Federal government, which wanted to train a workforce to do business in Asia, but I already had two-year of French, and Japanese wasn't a European language anyway, and so didn't count as one of the languages that would meet the Arts and Sciences requirement.

My eleventh grade US History teacher, of Finnish ancestry, was a fan of J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, and recommended that I read Hoover's book, Masters of Deceit, about the Communist infiltration of America to undermine its values and institutions. I borrowed the book from the school library and read it. Years after I graduated, I heard a rumor that the teacher was arrested as a Peeping Tom. I don't know if the rumor was true or not, but thought it made sense if he felt compelled to investigateif there were any un-American activities going on in bedrooms or bathrooms of his neighbors. For his history class, I wrote a research paper on the Transcontinental Railroad, constructed from 1863–1869, to facilitate the movement of Settlers between the East and West Coasts. N I found sources in the school and community libraries for my report, but none of the sources mentioned the Chinese migrant workers who had been recruited to build the railroad. I got an A anyway. I found out later that Whites excluded the Chinese workers from celebratory photos taken when the railroad was completed.

4.58

When I entered the University of Hawai‘i in fall 1969, the English Standard strategy to discriminate against Non-white locals was still being implemented. (For the origins of the English Standard strategy, see subsection 3.48 in "3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.") In my senior year, I was required to meet with a speech-screening interviewer from the UH. I spoke with a thick pidgin accent with friends, and even though I spoke Standard English with the interviewer, she detected an "accent" and told me that I had to take a three-credit remedial Speech Communication class in order to graduate. To get the remedial class out of the way, I enrolled in it during the summer before my first semester. I got an A. During the final one-on-one evaluation, the instructor told me, "I don't know why you were required to take this class"; in other words, it was a waste of my time and my mom's money.

That summer, I also took the required introductory Expository Writing course (Eng 100) and got an A; I didn't write with a pidgin accent. Writing in pidgin, however, became popular during the 1970s

and beyond to challenge, undermine, and annoy the Standard English police who ruled the schools and university in the Territory and State for seven decades. I can only imagine what arbitrary decisions and other bullshit the Settler State's Department of Public Instruction and the University of Hawai'i unloaded on the Nisei to make them speak proper English. (I'm sure they meant well.)

The first book of Japanese literature I was assigned to read in an English course was in a World Literature in Translation course, which I took to fulfill the literature requirement for college sophomores. The course was taught by a UH English professor from Germany. He assigned Harold Henderson's anthology of haiku poetry, along with the works of Dostoevsky, Gogol, Baudelaire, and other European writers. The haiku anthology inspired me to read more Japanese literature on my own.

The first book by a Hawaiian writer I read was when I was in graduate school at the University of Washington in 1976—Nathaniel B. Emerson's translation of David Malo's *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1903). I found the translation while browsing the Hawaiian section of Suzzallo Library. That reading inspired me to do more research on my own into Hawaiian writers and literature.

4.59

After Dad passed away in the summer 1970 following my first year in college, I was surprised when Mom told her three children that one of his two last wishes was that she take us to Japan to visit our grandparents' hometowns in Hiroshima Prefecture and to see the ancestral homeland. (His other last wish was for her to pay for our college educations.)

Dad never spoke to his children about his own travels to Japan or what they meant to him. In addition to a six-month long stay in Tōkyō during the post-War Occupation, RCA, the company that employed him as an electronic technician, sent him to Japan three times in the 1960s. He took Mom with him twice, her first visits. She brought home Japanese art—a four-panel painting of a maple tree in autumn, two scroll paintings, and a two-and-a-half-foot tall geisha doll with an elaborate hairstyle, elegant kimono, and samisen. Mom had a glass case custom made for the doll to display it in the living room, along with the folding screen and one of the scroll painting. She hung the other scroll painting in her and dad's bedroom.

In the winter 1970, Mom carried out Dad's wish, taking her three

children to Hiroshima, Kyōto, and Tōkyō. I prepared for the trip by taking a course in Japanese language in summer 1970, and a course in Japanese history that fall, the same history course that Mom took during the summer to prepare herself for the trip. After disembarking at Haneda Airport, I discovered a country with a population of 100 million people who looked pretty much like me and my parents and grandparents and who spoke the language of my grandmothers. The trip was so inspiring, after returning to Hawai‘i, I took four levels of Japanese language at the UH, researched Japanese literature and history, and went back to Japan to travel on my own for over a month.

Thirty years later, after traveling down other roads while studying to get a PhD in English, teaching English at a community college, working as a writer and small-press publisher and crewing on voyaging canoes and visiting Polynesian islands to learn about the ancestral homeland of Native Hawaiians and help document Polynesian navigation and voyaging traditions, I had the time and resources to return to Japan. With my partner Karen, whose family emigrated to Hawai‘i from Yamaguchi Prefecture, I spent over twenty years traveling in the ancestral homeland, mainly by car, to research and write a book of essays about its culture and history (*Roads of Oku: Journeys in the Heartland*); and to follow the Edo-period roads and visit famous places depicted in the woodblock prints of the nineteenth-century artist Utagawa Hiroshige.

Our explorations took us over thousands of miles of roads, between Cape Soya, at the northern tip of Hokkaidō, and Cape Sata, at the southern tip of Kyūshū. I also completed a personal translation of one of the first book of Japanese literature I read, in translation, Bashō's seventeenth-century poetic narrative of his walking journey through northern Japan; over three centuries after him, we drove to places along his route to try to see what he had seen and to understand what he wrote about them. When I published S*ummer Grasses, Autumn Wind: A Translation of Bashō's Narrow Roads of the Deep North* in 2018, I dedicated it to Mom for taking me on my first trip to the ancestral homeland. After all, my grandparents and parents had a deep and lasting influence on who I became and what I did in life. The academic skills I acquired during two decades of schooling helped me to pursue my own research interests and agenda.

After all, my grandparents and parents had a deep and lasting influence on who I became and what I did. The academic skills acquired during over two decades of schooling helped me research and write

about what interested me; and like every student, I was free to resist and reject the parts of my education that were useless because they were contrary to my identity, ancestry, values and beliefs, and family traditions. I wrote and published stories about my grandparents, my parents, and my life to pass along what others might find useful on their own journeys.

4.60

During the 1960s and 70s, Native community leaders led a resurgence of Hawaiian language and culture, which had been passed on in Native families, outside of the public school system. The revitalization of hula and chant, music, voyaging, farming, aquaculture and fishponds, kapa-making, lauhala-weaving, and other arts was supported by multiethnic residents who studied, appreciated, and supported those Native arts.

During the 1970s and 80s, one strategy adopted to motivate more Native Hawaiian students to get college degrees was curricular modifications in schools and colleges to reverse the long history of denigration and marginalization of Native culture and language that began in the schools established by the White missionaries in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century, and continued in the public schools of the Republic of White Oligarchs and the US Territory and State of Hawai‘i. When the University of Hawai‘i was founded in 1907, it was controlled by White administrators and professors who taught, for the most part, the standard White curriculum of the Settler State of America while excluding, for the most part, Hawaiian knowledge, culture, and traditions. The teachers trained in the UH College of Education were taught to teach that same White curriculum when they were assigned to teach in the public schools.

The Non-native UH administration and faculty began, reluctantly at first, to add courses on Hawaiian history, language, and culture to the curricula. In 1970, Hawaiian Studies courses were placed in the interdisciplinary Liberal Studies program. The Ethnic Studies Program was established in 1971 by a multiethnic coalition led by Native Hawaiians to tell the stories of Hawai‘i’s working-class. However, the UH administration, mainly White, with some administrators of Asian ancestry, refused to grant the Ethnic Studies program permanent status because it was community-based, ethnic-conscious, class-conscious, and collaborative, with teachers and students working together to teach

classes. Despite the UH administration's continuing harassment and lack of support for making the program permanent, the Ethnic Studies faculty persevered, and the program acquired permanent status in 1978 (Aoudé, *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai‘i* 1–7).

In 1978, at the State Constitutional Convention, a multiethnic coalition of delegates, which included the future first Native governor of Hawai‘i, John Waihe‘e, mandated that the "State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language." After the Convention, Hawaiian became an official language of the State (along with English). In 1979 a provisional Hawaiian Studies Program was approved for the UH by its Board of Regents, and the Department of Education (DOE) began a program in public schools employing kūpuna (elders) to teach Hawaiian culture in the Native language. The program was expanded to DOE Hawaiian Studies and language classes in 1980. Immersion Schools in Hawaiian language started in 1987.

In 1985, the UH Hawaiian Studies Program was granted permanent status, and in 1987 a Center for Hawaiian Studies was established by the Board of Regents. In 1996, a five-acre complex was completed to house the Center for Hawaiian Studies. Haunani-Kay Trask served as the first director and delivered the welcoming address on January 18, 1997, noting that the new center was "both a symbolic and an actual victory in the more than a century-long struggle of Hawaiians to reclaim the education of our own people in our own culture."

In 1992, Pauahi Estate Trustee Myron "Pinky" Thompson proposed that Kamehameha Schools establish a Hawaiian Cultural Center. The proposal was approved in 1994, but delayed by the politics of the time (see subsection 4.35 above). The center, Ka‘iwakīloumoku, opened in 2008 (seven years after Thompson passed away) as "a place where Hawaiians could gather to live and learn the ways of our people; where we could express hospitality to visitors, conduct traditional ceremonies, and raise the next generation of Hawaiians to lead our people towards a vibrant future" ("History of Ka‘iwakīloumoku").

4.61

> At night, / when the island is deep / in the crater of sleep, / across the channel / the mo‘o / raises its head / one eye reflecting the moon. (Dana Naone Hall, from "Ka Mo‘olelo o ke Alanui / The story of the road")

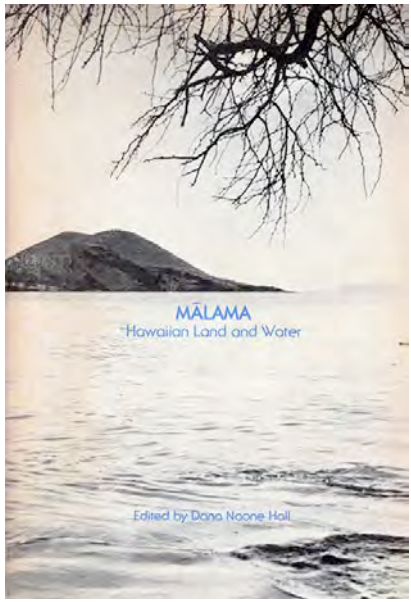
Trask criticized the post-war narrative of "Asian ascendancy and success" that was promoted as the story of Hawai‘i in place of the Native Hawaiian story. Trask also knew that the kuleana to tell the Native story belonged to Natives. The Nisei and their children and grandchildren, like Matsuo Takabuki, Dennis Ogawa, Franklin Odo, and Roland Kotani, wrote about the struggles and achievements of their parents and grandparents because that was their kuleana. If they wrote about Native history or culture, they might be accused (as I was) of infringing on Native kuleana. (See subsection 1.16 in Part 1, "It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected Idea' ....") It's more prudent to write about one's own family and ethnic history and culture while ignoring everyone else's, which is what most writers do.

The Native story was told in the nineteenth century in the writings of David Malo (1795–1853), Samuel Kamakau (1815–1876), Zepherin "Kepelino" Kahō‘āli‘i Keauokalani (c. 1830–c. 1878) and others, published in the Hawaiian language newspapers and books. In the twentieth century, writers like Mary Kawena‘ulaokalaniahi‘iakaika poliopele Pūkui (1895–1986), John Dominis Holt IV (1919–1993), George Hu‘eu Sanford Kanahele (1930–2000) continued to tell stories. I read these works in translation during my college and teaching years to inform myself about Native history and literature, since I learned practically nothing about them in school or college.

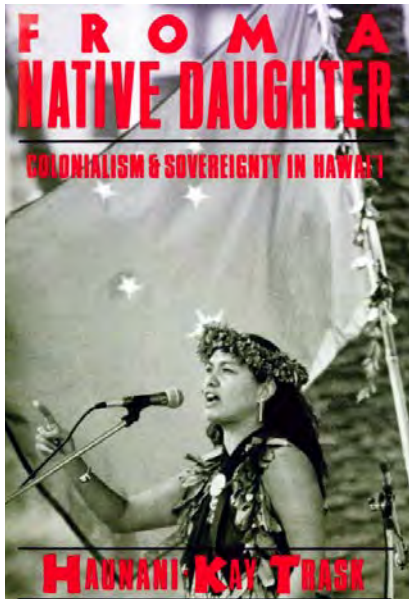
Trask, who earned a PhD in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1981, was one of the first of her generation to write Native history, publishing "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" in 1984. In 1985, Native poet and activist Dana Naone Hall edited an anthology of Hawaiian poets and storytellers titled *Mālama Hawaiian Land and Water*, published by Bamboo Ridge Press.

Trask, who earned a PhD in political science from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1981, was one of the first of her generation to write Native history from a Native perspective, publishing "Hawaiians, American Colonization, and the Quest for Independence" in 1984. In 1985, Native poet and activist Dana Naone Hall edited an anthology of Hawaiian poets and storytellers, *Mālama Hawaiian Land and Water*, published by Bamboo Ridge Press.

In 1987, Trask published "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu." In 1992, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, who followed Trask as director of Hawaiian Studies at the UH, published *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How*



Cover of *Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water*, 1985. Photo by Hall: Pu'u Ōlai and Kaho'olawe from Mākena Landing on the south shore of Maui



Haunani-Kay Trask appeared on the cover her 1993 anthology *From a Native Daughter*. Photo by Ed Greevey

Shall We Live in Harmony? Trask's collection of essays *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* appeared in 1993, and after revisions, was reprinted by the UH Press in 1999.

Trask's "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony: 'Locals' in Hawai'i" was published in 2000 in *Amerasia Journal*. That was followed in 2002 by Jonathan Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio's *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Jon followed Lilikalā as director of Hawaiian Studies. In 2004, UH Political Science professor Noe Noe Silva published *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*.

In 2006, Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor's *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* documented cultural kīpuka in the land section of Waipi'o, on the Big Island; in the rural districts of Hāna, Maui, and Puna, Hawai'i; and on the islands of Moloka'i and Kaho'olawe.

She explains her metaphor for an enduring culture in kīpuka this way:

> Even as Pele claims and reconstructs the forest landscape, she

> leaves intact whole sections of the forest, with tall old-growth ʻōhiʻa trees, tree ferns, creeping vines, and mosses. These oases are called kīpuka. The beauty of these natural kīpuka is not only their ability to resist and withstand destructive forces of change, but also their ability to regenerate life on the barren lava that sur-rounds them. For from these kïpuka come the seeds and spores carried by birds and blown by the wind to sprout upon and regenerate the forest on the new lava, sparking a dynamic new cycle of coming into and passing out of life. (8)

"Figure 3 The volcanic rainforest in Puna, Hawaiʻi, features numerous beautiful natural kīpuka of old-growth forest from which fresh fields of lava are eventually revegetated. Thus the Puna rainforest is a mosaic of old-growth forest and new-growth forest." (*Nā Kua'āina,* 7)

In cultural kīpuka, the kūpuna, or elders, like Harry Kûnihi Mitchell (featured in the cover photo of Davianna's book), continued to pass on Native traditions to the next generations:

> Indeed, kuaʻāina are the Native Hawaiians who remained in the rural communities of our islands, took care of the kūpuna or elders, continued to speak Hawaiian, bent their backs and

> worked and sweated in the taro patches and sweet potato fields, and held that which is precious and sacred in the culture in their care. (4)

McGregor with her book *Nā Kua'āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*. On the cover is a photo by Franco Salmoiraghi of "Uncle Harry Kūnihi Mitchell of Wailuanui, Maui, playing his guitar near Hakioawa, Kaho'olawe. Uncle, sparkle in his eye, knee-deep in his lo'i, introduced me to the lives of the kua'âina and their role in the cultural regeneration of Kaho'olawe, 1979." (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* photo)

Since 1987, photographer/artist/poet Kapulani Landgraf has published books featuring Kanaka Maoli and wahi pana (sacred places). She grew up in Kāne'ohe and studied photography with Mark Hamasaki at Windward Community College. When she was a nineteen-year-old student in journalism, Kawao Durante, a Department of Education (DOE) Windward District Resource Teacher in the Hawaiian Studies Program, asked her to record the stories of the kūpuna (elders) who taught Hawaiian Studies. *E Nā Hulu Kūpuna Nā Puna Ola Maoli Nō* ("By the Treasured Kūpuna, the Living Springs of Knowledge") was published in 1987 featuring oral histories and photographic portraits of thirty-two kūpuna.

In 1994, UH Press published Kapulani's *Nā Wahi Pana o Ko'olau Poko: Legendary Places of Ko'olau Poko*, featuring places associated with traditional stories in the district where Kāne'ohe is located. WCC Hawaiian language professor Kalani Meinecke wrote captions for the photos in Hawaiian. Haunani-Kay Trask and the UH Center for Hawaiian Studies supported the publication.

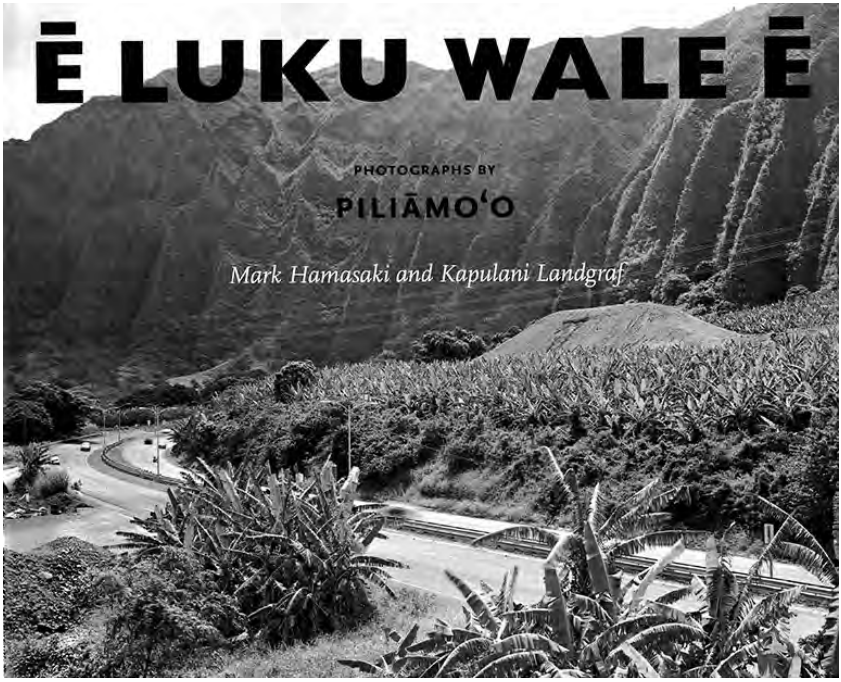
During the 1990s, Kapulani, collaborating with Mark Hamasaki as

Piliāmoʻo, documented the devastation of the land during the building of the H-3 Highway through Hālawa Valley and Kāneʻohe. In 1998, they exhibited their photos at the Honolulu Advertiser building in Honolulu.

In 2003, Kapulani's *Nā Wahi Kapu o Maui* ("Sacred Places of Maui"), was published by ʻAi Pōhaku Press, with an introduction by kumu hula Kīhei de Silva, who calls the photos sacred stones, used to build "an embankment over which the profane cannot step and within which the sacred and the life-giving thrive once more."

In 2015, *Ē Wale Ē* was published, featuring Piliāmoʻo's H-3 photographs accompanied by Kapulani's kanikau (dirges) translated into English by Richard Hamasaki, who also wrote the foreword. I added an introduction providing historical contexts. (See "Introduction to *Ē Luku Wale Ē*" in *"A Contentious Multiculturalism": Reflections on Literature, Culture, History, and Education in Hawai'i, 1992–2025*.)

While the photographs and kanikau lament the scarring of the land to build the highway, they also offer hope in enduring connections to



Cover of *Ē Luku Wale Ē*. Cover photo: "Ua ili nā pua kukui no ka ua koko" by Piliāmoʻo

the land: “Kāne’s verdant ridges embrace a hiddden place / nurturing gifts from the ancestors / Returning to the bosom of the sheltering gods” (“Paukū III”).

4.62

After World War II, the national and local White American media (book publishers, newspapers, TV stations) promoted the story of the Nisei and their military service during World War II and their post-war success in Hawai‘i because that story made the Settler State of America look good. Most of the White American media ignored the Native Hawaiian story because it made the Settler State look bad.

To counteract the White media, Natives have published and produced their stories themselves. In 1990, Maile Meyer founded Native Books to promote and sell books telling the Native Hawaiian story. In 1993, she established ‘Ai Pōhaku Press with book designer Barbara Pope to publish books of or about Hawaiian literature, art, and history.

Before Maile, around 1974, Native novelist and essayist John Dominis Holt IV was a pioneer, establishing Top Gallant Press; he renamed his press Kū Pa‘a in 1989 to publish *Ho‘omānoa, An Anthology of Contemporary Hawaiian Literature*, edited by Native poet Joseph P. Balaz. Māhealani Dudoit started *‘Ōiwi: a Native Hawaiian Journal* in 1999 to publish contemporary Hawaiian writers.

In 2007, Keoni Lee, Nā‘ālehu Anthony, and Amy Kalili founded ‘Ōiwi TV to produce Native programming.

With the establishment of the internet, the World Wide Web, and Amazon’s print on demand, it’s much easier now to get something published, without the control and exclusions imposed by White media companies and editors. The inquisitive who want or need to know something can search for readings on the Web or at Amazon, though a lot of what they’ll find is undocumented and perhaps, like Fujikane’s myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i, fictitious.

4.63

While the goal of the sovereignty movement is to establish a Native state, Native activists today continue to pursue advancement in the Settler State as a transitional goal. In 1998, the non-profit Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement (CNHA), funded by State and federal

grants, was established to uplift lāhui and address a range of community needs related to enhancing "the cultural, economic, political, and community development of Native Hawaiians" by providing "access to capital, financial education and individualized financial counseling services with a focus on low and moderate-income families"; and by serving as an intermediary for "grants and loans targeting underserved communities in Hawai'i." Its Hawaiian Trade Academy provides "workforce development for economically and socially disadvantaged communities," with the goal of raising the household income of families in Hawai'i. KūHana Accelerator helps "local and Hawaiian-owned entrepreneurs in early to mid stages of development" to develop business plans for growth. A loan fund provides "access to loan capital, financial education, and individualized financial counseling services for Hawaii-based small businesses, non-profit organizations and low and moderate-income families." CNHA also runs a mortgage, rent, and utilities assistance programs (*The Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement* website).

Kūhiō Lewis, the CEO of CNHA, spoke with writer Adrienne Lafrance for her *Atlantic* article "The Hawaiians Who Want Their Nation Back" (2025). She summarizes what he told her::

> Kūhiō Lewis was "very much the statistic Hawaiian" growing up in the 1990s ... —a high-school dropout raised by his grandmother. He'd struggled with drugs and alcohol, and became a single father with two babies by the time he was 19. Back then, Lewis was consumed with anger over what had happened to the Hawaiian people and believed that the only way to get what his people deserved was to fight, and to protest. But he lost patience with a movement that he didn't think was getting anything done. Today, as the CEO of the nonprofit Council for Native Hawaiian Advancement, he has a different view.
>
> He still believes that Hawai'i should not be part of America, but he also believes that Hawai'i would need a leader with "balls of steel" to make independence happen. "That's a big ask," he added. "That's a lot of personal sacrifice." Until that person steps up, Lewis chooses to work within the system, even if it means some Hawaiians see him as a sellout.
>
> "There is a wrong that was done. And there's no way we'll ever let that go," Lewis told me. "But I also believe, and I've

> come to believe, that the best way to win this battle is going through America rather than trying to go around America."

Native education advocates continue to encourage and push for more Hawaiian students to attend the University of Hawai‘i and other colleges. In 2024, the UH boasted that its freshman class included a rising number of Native Hawaiian students—"489 who identify as Native Hawaiian, up from 382 in fall 2023 and 395 in fall 2022." The increase was attributed to "a broader outreach designed to make UH Manoa more welcoming, attractive and affordable for local students" (Nakaso). Many Hawaiian students enroll at colleges and universities on the continent, too.

Natives also continue to ascend in managerial and professional occupations. In 2024, the leaders of the three main agencies promoting tourism, Hawai‘i's top industry, were of Polynesian ancestry, two of them Native Hawaiian—Daniel Naho‘opi‘ī (MBA in Japanese Business, UH, 1993), CEO of the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority; and Aaron Sala (PhD in Ethnomusicology, UH 2021), president and CEO of the Hawai‘i Visitors and Convention Bureau. Mufi Hannemann (BA in Government, Harvard, 1976), of Samoan ancestry and a former Mayor of Honolulu (2005–2010), was head of the Hawai‘i Lodging and Tourism Association. The 1960s fear the Jap-takeover of the tourism industry, which was triggered by Japanese investments in hotel and resort development in anticipation of a boom in Japanese tourism, subsided after the 1970s. Hawai‘i's tourism leaders have become more sophisticated about diversifying customers and attracting international, high-spending visitors, like those from Japan, rather than depending solely on budget tourists from North America. The leaders also place greater emphasis on "sustainable" tourism, with Native practices and values integrated into it.

5. Non-natives and the Modern Hawaiian Movement, 1970 and After

[Section 5 of 5, with 25 Subsections and an Afterword]

In the struggle to make the Ethnic Studies Program permanent on the University of Hawai‘i campus ... , different ethnic groups employed a terra nullius argument of land in Hawai‘i being “empty” or “belonging to no one,” erasing Native peoples and places in order to celebrate their role in the “building” of the settler colony.

—Candace Fujikane, “Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i” (2008)

Dr. Fujikane mistakenly attributes our slogan “Our History, Our Way” to local Asians who she called colonials with “no perception that Hawaiians have their own struggle.” First of all, myself and other Kanaka ‘Ōiwi (Pete Thompson, Kehau Lee, Terrilee Kekoolani, Soli Niheu) were at the forefront of the struggle and the formulation of our slogan. Second, the slogan is inclusive of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi history. Our ethnic studies courses on Hawaiians and land tenure were the first to challenge the dominant historical narrative, which characterized Native Hawaiians as compliant, childlike natives who embraced Christianity and American settler civilization.

—Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor, a co-founder and former Director of the UH Ethnic Studies program, letter to the *Honolulu Weekly* (May 13, 2009)

5.1

After the 2008 publication of *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, in an interview with the *Honolulu Weekly*, Fujikane falsely asserted that "local Asians" in the University of Hawai'i's Ethnic Studies program of the 1970s had "no perception that Hawaiians have their own struggle" (Seeto, "Q and A with Candace Fujikane: Critical Transformations"). Her statement revealed not only her ignorance, but what she, her co-editor Jonathan Okamura, and other members of the Asian Settlers Club were up to: they hoped to gain recognition as the first "local Asian" scholars (or Asian Settler, as they prefer to be called) to perceive that "Hawaiians have their own struggle," thereby establishing themselves at the forefront of activism and their academic discipline, which would make them worthy of promotion and tenure at the University of Hawai'i.

Fujikane and her generation (Yonsei, or fourth generation of Japanese ancestry) were toddlers and children when locals of Asian ancestry joined Native Hawaiian leaders to protest the eviction of Native Hawaiians and others from their homes on leased land in Kalama Valley, in East O'ahu, and to establish the Ethnic Studies program at the UH. The multiethnic activism in the community and at the UH was covered extensively by the media. Fujikane writes that she "heard" about "the resistance to development" ("Reimagining Development and the Local" 42), but appears clueless about what actually took place.

Fortunately, the reader doesn't have to take Fujikane's word for what local activists knew and did during the 1970s. UH Professors Haunani-Kay Trask, Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor, Ibrahim Aoudé, and Gary Pak, along with journalist Gary Kubota and others, have documented the activism of the period. (See "Sources" for the titles of their works.) In "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O'ahu" (1987), Trask describes the Kalama Valley protests, which marked the post-war revival of Native activism and led to the movement for Hawaiian sovereignty. Far from being ignorant that "Hawaiians have their own struggle" as Fujikane asserts, locals of Asian ancestry joined the protest. White activists were eventually asked to leave; locals were allowed to participate, but knew that what was at stake for them was different from what was at stake for Natives. Some locals didn't see it as their kuleana to participate in a Native movement, and didn't.

Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, who organized the occupation of Kalama

Valley, went there at the suggestion of White Catholic anti-Vietnam war activist John Witeck. Kamakawiwoʻole had been radicalized by the Black Power Movement, the Anti-Vietnam War resistance, and the Third World Liberation Movement when he was a graduate student in religion at the Pacific School of Religion (PSR) in Berkeley, from 1966–1969 (Kubota, "Interview with Lawrence [Larry] 'Harbottle' Kamakawiwoole," *Hawaii Stories of Change* 133–135). When Kamakawiwoʻole returned to Hawaiʻi in 1969, he was hired as a teaching assistant in the UH Religion department and soon after got involved with the Native Hawaiian movement. He recalls:

> During the fall of 1969, John Witeck, founder and chairperson of the board of directors of Youth Action (YA), invited me to be a member of the board. YA, predecessor to the Hawaii People's Fund, was a non-profit agency that provided seed money to youth groups working for social change in Hawaii. The board's membership included leaders of the progressive movement, including the Rev. Larry Jones, Randy Kalahiki, Rev. John Heidel, Professor Walter Johnson, Aiko Reinecke, Wally Fukunaga, and Mary Choy. (Kubota 135)

Kamakawiwoʻole recalls that in spring 1970, "John asked me to go to Kalama Valley ... to ask residents if they needed assistance from YA [to resist eviction from their homes on leased land owned by the Pauahi Estate]." The residents' answer was affirmative, that they wanted to stay in their homes; about thirty five families still lived in the valley (Kubota 135–136). Kamakawiwoʻole organized Kōkua Kalama ("Help for Kalama Valley"), which eventually became Kōkua Hawaiʻi as protests spread statewide. He asked Witeck to recommend members of a leadership committee, and Witeck gave him the names of organizers and their contact information, none of whom Kamakawiwoʻole knew (136). The multiethnic committee Kamakawiwoʻole gathered eventually included Natives Pete Thompson, Kehau Lee, John Fuhrman, Soli Niheu, Kalani Ohelo, and Joy Ahn, who were joined by Non-natives Dana Rae Park, Mervyn Chang, Mary Choy, Jo Ibarra, Rene Kajikawa, Charles Kiehm, Claire Shimabukuro, Randy Suzuki, Gene Parker, and Dwight Yoshimoto (Pak et al., *Huli!*).

In her *Honolulu Weekly* interview, Fujikane criticizes multiethnic alliances like Kōkua Hawaiʻi, asserting, "You can't talk about alliances between local non-Hawaiians and Hawaiians. If you're not Hawaiian,

you're a settler and part of the colonial problem" (Seeto). More recently, however, she writes in 2017 that she engages in what she calls "Indigenous and Settler Affinity Activism," which sounds a lot like an alliance "between local non-Hawaiians and Hawaiians." (Her new label for such alliances, appears in the title of her essay "Mapping Wonder in the Māui Mo‘olelo on the Mo‘o‘āina: Growing Aloha ‘Āina Through Indigenous and Settler Affinity Activism.") So labeling herself a "Settler" makes her "affinity activism" more righteous and more effective than the activism that Hawaiians and local non-Hawaiians engaged in jointly three or four decades before her? I don't think so. Her activism is merely more awkwardly self-conscious, and, as befits the New Age, made to sound more impressive with jargon.

5.2

Trask's account of the Kalama Valley protests in "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement" is more nuanced than anything Fujikane ever wrote because Trask was aware of the complexities and ironies of Hawai‘i's contentious multiculturalism. In 1970, some of the Kalama Valley farmers and tenants being evicted were Hawaiian; others weren't. The land was owned by the Pauahi Estate, established for the education of Native Hawaiian children. The beneficiaries of the Trust were Hawaiian students who attended Kamehameha Schools, which the Trust established and funded. Some of the activists opposing the Kalama Valley evictions were graduates of Kamehameha Schools—Joy Ahn, Soli Niheu, Pete Thompson, John Fuhrman, and Kamakawiwo‘ole (Kubota 139). Kamakawiwo‘ole notes, "We confronted and fought the Bishop Estate for the first time in the over one-hundred year history over its land development" (139). The Trask sisters were also graduates of Kamehameha Schools.

At the time of the protests, leasing land was the main source of income for the Estate. Earlier, in the 1950s, to increase its revenue, the Estate agreed to lease lands in East O‘ahu to the Hawaii Kai Development Corporation of White industrialist Henry J. Kaiser for the development of single family homes, high and low rise apartments, a golf course, ten hotels, and "a fine dining restaurant overlooking Makapu‘u Point" (Trask, "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement" 129).

In the 1960s, the lessees in Kalama Valley were given month-to-month leases. Then in 1970, the Estate moved to evict the lessees so the development of a subdivision could begin. The Estate was

criticized for evicting Hawaiians. However, the Board of Trustees—one Hawaiian (Richard Lyman), three Whites (Frank Midkiff, Herbert Keppeler, Atherton Richards), and one Chinese American (Hung Wo Ching)—were bound by their fiduciary duty to maximize income from Trust lands, and leasing some of that land for development of houses, apartments, and hotels in East Oʻahu was one way to do that.

5.3

Trask notes that a Nisei politician supported the protesters—Senator Nadao Yoshinaga, chair of the State Senate's Ways and Means Committee:

> [Yoshinaga] introduced a bill in the Senate proposing that the State buy the land, allow the residents to stay, and use the Valley as a laboratory to study population growth and development problems. Yoshinaga lashed out at the Bishop [i.e., Pauahi] Estate, calling their efforts to remove Kalama tenants "merciless, unfair, and undemocratic treatment of low-income and farm residents." Yoshinaga also remarked that agricultural lands should be preserved because land was a scarce resource. (141)

The legislature didn't pass the bill. (Later, however, the first Japanese American governor of Hawaiʻi, George Ariyoshi, used Yoshinaga's strategy to prevent farmers and tenants from being evicted from land in Waiāhole–Waikane Valley on the Windward side of Oʻahu slated for a housing development; the State bought the land and granted the residents long-term, affordable leases to keep the land in agriculture.

Cooper and Daws includes Yoshinaga, a Nisei World War II veteran, in their "exposé" of Democratic Party insiders who supposedly, after Statehood, enriched themselves at the expense of everyone else, including Natives (*Land and Power in Hawaii* 437–440; for background on their "exposé," see subsections 4.29–4.31, in "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.")

According to Cooper and Daws, in 1965, Yoshinaga set up a corporation to buy 102 leasehold subdivision lots in Waipahu from Oahu Sugar Company, which was owned by AMFAC, one of the Big Five corporations; he planned to sell the lots to the leasees "at a profit"; at the

same time, he also sponsored a bill for the State to buy Hans L‘Orange Park from AMFAC, which owned and maintained the park for its sugar workers who lived in the area. AMFAC wanted to unload on the City the expense of maintaining the park. Cooper and Daws insinuate that the sale of the leasehold lots to Yoshinaga and his bill to purchase the park were linked; however, the two writers acknowledge that there were two contradictory versions of what happened, and conclude, “Who had the accurate account? As is so often the case with stories of this kind, the answer by anyone looking from the outside can only be: who knows?” (439). If nobody knows, why include the innuendo in their book except to bolster their variant of the early twentieth-century “Fear the Jap Takeover” rhetoric? Sloppy scholarship.

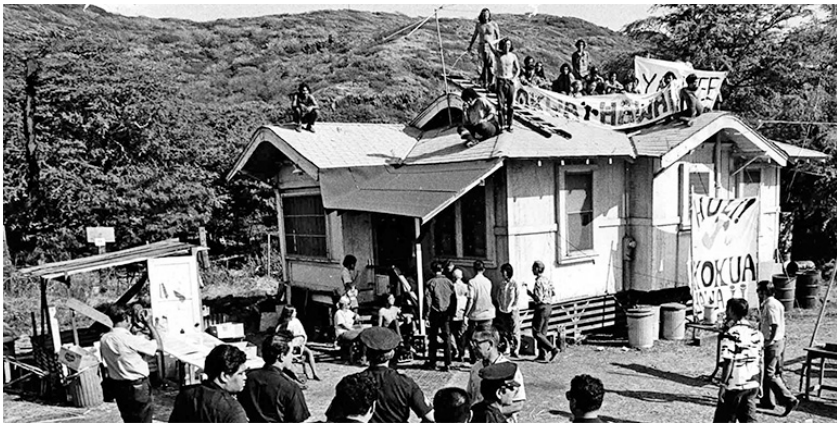
Cooper and Daws note that in 1967, Yoshinaga’s corporation sold the 104 lots back to AMFAC at cost. In other words, he didn’t make a profit. In 1969, AMFAC sold the lots to a nonprofit set up by ILWU officer Newton K. Miyagi, which then sold the lots to the lessees, many of whom were ILWU members. In 1969, the City and County of Honolulu bought Hans L‘Orange Park to maintain it for the neighborhood. The outcome was that 104 residents, working-class union members, acquired their house lots in fee simple, along with a City-maintained neighborhood park. Nothing wrong with that.

5.4

One activist group that participated in the Kalama Valley protests was the Kaimukī Collective, a Maoist revolutionary group formed by UH students, including Natives Pete Thompson and Kehau Lee, and Non-natives of Japanese ancestry, anti-Vietnam War activist Lori Hayashi and lawyer Herb Takahashi (Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement” 135). The members of the Maoist group were successors to the labor union activists who joined the Communist Party in the 1940s and 50s. (See subsection 4.25 in “4. Post-War Ascendency and Prosperity: the Nisei Join Multiethnic Unions and a Multiethnic Democratic Party.”) In his interview for the Kokua Hawai‘i Oral History Project, Kamakawiwo‘ole recalls that the goal of Kokua Hawai‘i was “to fight the profit motive capitalistic system which favored the wealthy at the expense of the overwhelming majority of Hawaii’s population” (Kubota 139); his organization, however, advocated non-violent change, not armed revolution as the Maoists did.

When the Pauahi Trust sent in bulldozers to knock down houses

in the valley, Trask recalls that Hayashi and John Witeck joined Thompson and Lee and other Native protesters to block the bulldozers. They "entered house after house in an effort to stop the bulldozers" (134); Hayashi, Witeck, and Linton Park (brother of Dana Rae Park, who was on the leadership committee) were the first protesters arrested. Later, Herb Takahashi served as one of the attorneys for Kōkua Kalama Valley, to defend the nine arrestees at their trespassing trial (150). Herb Takahashi eventually became a labor union lawyer.



Trask recalls that Hayashi and John Witeck joined Thompson and Lee and other Native protesters to block the bulldozers. They "entered house after house in an effort to stop the bulldozers"

5.5

My brother was a member of the Kaimukī Collective, along with his friend Ray Lou, a Chinese American anti-Vietnam War activist whom he met at the UH Atherton YMCA, which supported campus anti-war protests. Ray was from Mississippi and spoke with a thick Black southern accent. He and my brother bought handguns and hiked into the mountains to practice shooting in anticipation of a Maoist Revolution that never came.

My brother and other Sansei weren't like the Nisei who volunteered for military service during World War II, most of them to prove to the Settler State that they weren't agents of the Emperor of Japan. My brother didn't feel he had to go to Vietnam to fight to prove anything to anyone who might view him as a "Jap," "gook," "immigrant,"

or "international." We grew up in a different period of history from the Nisei. Our parents didn't teach us to suck up to the White power structure or anyone else; our attitude toward detractors was "Fuck you, too." Our dad served in the US Army, but he was drafted and forced to go; luckily, the war ended before he finished basic training, and he got a free six-month stay in the ancestral homeland during the Post-war Allied Occupation of Japan; and later the GI Bill paid for his college education. In the late 1960s, as his sons reached draft age, Dad didn't try to persuade us to serve in Vietnam. In fact, he seemed to have developed an aversion to any uniformed organization with ranks; when my brother and I were in elementary school, when our friends and classmates were joining the Junior Police Officers (JPOs) or Boy Scouts, he refused to let us to join.

As a college student, my brother was exempt from the draft, but Dad told him not to join the National Guard, as many college students did to avoid the draft after graduation. Whether Dad didn't want him in the Guard or thought that it was a chicken-shit way of avoiding military service, I'm not sure. Ironically, some units of the Hawai'i National Guard were sent to Vietnam, and some the guardsmen were injured or killed.

My brother decided to apply for a Conscientious Objector (CO) deferment from military service. COs were granted to those whose religions prohibited them from bearing arms. Those granted CO status were required to do alternative service in place of military service. With support letters from a couple of Christian anti-war community leaders and from our mom (who had converted to Christianity in high school), he was given a draft deferment.

When I enrolled at the UH for my freshman year in 1969, I joined my brother at the YMCA and participated in an anti-war protest, silkscreening copies of an anti-war poster and posting them around campus.

From having grown up reading newspapers and magazines to which Dad and Mom subscribed, I knew that the Settler State of America wasn't "defending Freedom and Democracy" for the Vietnamese people, as it claimed, but merely trying to hold onto the Capitalist network of markets and resources that it established in Asia after World War II. The Capitalist Settler State wanted to prevent Vietnam from joining the Soviet and Chinese Communist bloc. I thought that both sides should let the Vietnamese people determine their own political future, without external interference or intervention. The American

Anti-war protest at Andrew Amphitheater, UH Mānoa Campus, May 7, 1970. The UH protests weren't as raucous or riotous as protests on the continent. Photos by Ian Lind

intervention in Vietnam began under President J.F. Kennedy, who was elected in 1960 and told Americans in his inaugural speech, "Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country." Later, I realized that slogan was nonsense. What made sense to me was "Do your best for your community, but be wary of what your country might do to you."

I decided to follow my brother's lead and get a draft deferment. Since I wasn't religious, I couldn't apply for CO status. I decided to write to my draft board a letter (which I recognized later as silly), claiming that I couldn't be in the military because I was hostile to authority and incapable of following orders. I thought individualism and independence would appeal to the patriotic board's American values. At the hearing, the board reviewed my file and told me, "Since you're in college, you already have a deferment" and sent me home.

In 1973, the Settler State decided to draft young men by a lottery of birthdates. My birthdate came up early, which meant I might be drafted soon after I graduated the following year. Instead of waiting with uncertainty, I decided to apply for a medical deferment based on a spinal defect (spinal bifida), which I didn't have, but according to a

radiologist, appeared in an x-ray I took to qualify for a summer job at a nursing home. I didn't get the job because of the physical defect that the radiologist claimed I had, so when I went to a pre-induction physical exam at Fort DeRussy, I took the x-ray, thinking if I couldn't work in a nursing home, I couldn't serve in the military. Before I could show the medical examiner my x-ray, however, I flunked the hearing test because I had lost hearing at high frequencies from a chronic sinus infection. I was designated 4-F, "unfit for service." Since I could hear, I was surprised, but it made sense: if I couldn't hear well, I might mishear an officer's commands during combat and shoot at the wrong target; or I might not hear incoming rockets or mortar rounds in time to take cover.

Needless to say, Mom was happy that neither of her sons was going to Vietnam. (Dad had passed away three years earlier.)

5.6

... they're so good at making soldiers
but they're not so good at making men.

—"Gun Shy," Natalie Merchant

Dana Rae Park (1948–2017) Photo by Mike Tsukamoto

Dana Rae Park (1948–2017), a member of the Kōkua Kalama leadership committee, was a draft resister in Honolulu in 1968. Park was the son of Korean immigrant Richard Sondo Park and his local high school sweetheart Madeline Louise Peters. Although Park was brought up in a Christian family and sang in a family ensemble, The Park Chorale Group, he later "broke from organized Christianity," and refused to claim CO status based on his religion, or to enroll in college to escape the draft for four years, or to go underground or into exile, as other young men were doing. He opposed the draft and the war because his Conscience told him that both conscription and war were immoral (Native activist, musician,

and writer Laulani Teale, "Aloha to Dana Rae Park, Hawai'i's Musical Warrior of Peace").

Teale writes about the judge at Park's hearing on the charge of draft evasion:

> Judge Martin Pence, clearly affronted by Dana's [anti-War] stance, ruled that his actions were selfish and dangerously antisocial. John Witeck recalls the judge going on at length about how, "since the dawn of time," war had been a natural state for humanity, and that going against this was simply disrespectful to social order.

Pence claimed, "The law exists to protect society from anti-social behavior," and smacked Park with a two-year prison sentence for refusing to be conscripted.

Like Pence, Nisei Senator Dan Inouye was an agent and recruiter for the Army of the Settler State. In 1968, he went on a speaking tour "to urge young Hawai'i men to participate in conscription" (Teale). Teale quotes an article in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin* that reported on a speech Inouye made to the all-girl graduating senior class of St. Francis Convent ("Inouye fires blast at draft dodging" May 27, 1968). Inouye confessed to the girls that "the U.S. Army converted me into a killing machine in World War II," and that he experienced "a sense of great joy and elation when I shot and killed my first German soldier. After that I killed many, many more." He added, "Much as I try, I find that I cannot erase these dark pages from my life." Inouye conceded that all wars were immoral because they involved killing not just soldiers, but "innocent men, women, and children"; he cited as examples of immoral wars the Christian Crusades "in the name of Jesus Christ" during the Middle Ages, as well as World Wars I and II.

Apparently, Inouye thought the honesty of his confessions, along with his concession, would persuade high school girls that even though the US Army would turn high school boys into killing machines, the boys they knew should submit to the draft. Inouye tried to cinch his argument with a hyperbolic appeal to fear: if young men disobey unjust laws, "this nation would surely collapse into a state of anarchy." I doubt it. He acknowledged that Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr., disobeyed unjust laws, but pointed out that the two advocates of nonviolent civil disobedience "spent many months behind bars." So the choice for young men like Park was to become killing machines,

participate in immoral warfare, and suffer from bad dreams for the rest of their lives; or they could spend time in prison. Park chose prison. At his sentencing, Park reiterated the objections of his Conscience to conscription and war:

> In Conscience, I cannot and will not participate in, cooperate with or support the Selective Service System of the United States. The System is insensitive, inhuman, unjust and immoral. For the System that tells my brother he must kill or be killed is insensitive. And the System which offers my brother as a human sacrifice in an immoral war in Vietnam is inhuman.
>
> In Conscience, I can no longer remain a helpless and bewildered spectator to this holocaust. In Conscience, I can no longer ignore the slaughter and sacrifice of thousands who have died needlessly and in vain in Vietnam. In Conscience, I cannot any longer erase from my mind the orphaned, homeless, napalmed victims of Vietnam. In Conscience, I can no longer believe our leaders, who say they are honorable men seeking an honorable peace. In Conscience, I can no longer be proud of my country.
>
> In Conscience, I must RESIST. (Teale)

Teale writes that in prison, "Park became depressed. The battle had been hard, and the societal judgment was fierce. Despite his resolute stance, trial and imprisonment were traumatic. Despite his refusal to go to war, he would suffer post-traumatic effects of that hardship for the rest of his life." Still, he came out of prison and continued his resistance to the Settler State and his musical performances, without the kind of bad dreams that a killing machine like Inouye had to suffer.

In March 1973, confronted with an imminent victory by the Viet Cong, the last US soldiers and diplomats abandoned the Vietnamese puppet government that they had established and fled the country by helicopter, airplane, and ship. In mid-1975, the Communist insurgents defeated the puppet government, and took over Vietnam. The Vietnamese people ended Western colonialism in their country and achieved sovereignty, finally able to determine the political future of their homeland. The Vietnamese suffered casualties that ran into the millions, along with the devastation of their cities, towns, fields, and forests, which had been blasted with napalms and sprayed with a toxic defoliant that is still contaminating the food supply. On the American

side, there were far fewer casualties: 58,000 dead and 153,000 wounded.

Laulani Teale, left, and Liko Martin, right, sing while Palani Vaughan, center rear, holds up a copy of Queen Liliuokalani's protest of the overthrow of Hawaii at the Hawaii state Capitol in Honolulu. (*Voice of America* file photo, June 23, 2014)

5.7

When the draft looked like it was going to end toward the end of 1972, my brother, still in college, rejected his CO status because it required him to serve for two years in the Peace Corps in place of military service. He was already volunteering to work with a youth program in Kahaluʻu headed by Randy Heano Kalahiki (1932–1993), an activist for Native Hawaiian lands, culture, and rights. In 1971, as a board member of Witeck's Youth Action, Kalahiki joined the protesters against the Kalama Valley evictions (Kubota, "Randy Kalahiki," *Hawaii Stories of Change*).

Kalahiki was director of the Kualoa-Heʻeia Ecumenical Youth (KEY) Project in Windward Oʻahu, established in 1968 to help at-risk kids find their way to a good life. Kalahiki's wife Annie recalled that "on the Windward Oahu side, there was a lot of poverty. A lot of kids were dropping out of school in the sixties, and the drug scene was very prevalent." Her husband "came from a family of 13. He dropped out of high school in the ninth grade during World War II and sold

newspapers. Despite that, he learned a trade." Before directing the KEY Project, he was a truck driver for Honolulu Iron Works, then a meat cutter for Kahua beef (223). Annie also recalled that he was good friends with John Burns, the first Democratic governor of Hawai‘i; George Ariyoshi, the first governor of Japanese ancestry; and John Waihe‘e, the first Hawaiian governor. Kalahiki knew Ariyoshi from childhood. Ariyoshi's family used to have a laundry business in Kalihi, and George would come to the Kalahiki house to pick up laundry from Kalahiki's mom (Kubota 226).

My brother used the carpentry skills he picked up from Dad to help Randy build a roof over the patio of a drop-in center for the KEY Project youth, where the kids could hang out and eat (and stay out of trouble). It had eating tables and ping pong tables; my brother helped cook breakfast for the kids. Kalahiki organized camping trips, summer fun programs, and work projects for which the kids who participated earned concert tickets or trips to baseballs games. He also set up training projects, for kids to become nurses's aides or to learn to make surfboards. He took the kids on excursions up to nearby Ioleka‘a Valley to talk story about Native land and water issues with Sam Lono, a kalo farmer and kahuna lapa‘au (medicinal herb specialist). In the valley, with his children, Kalahiki grew kalo, ong choi, and watercress for sale at a farmers' market at Kaumakapili Church in Kalihi (Kubota 224).

Kalahiki being interviewed by Kubota in 1975 at the KEY Project drop-in center; on the right, Kalahiki's daughter Aloma carries in a pot of food.

After graduating with a master's degree in engineering at the UH, my brother worked on high rises in Honolulu and elsewhere to ensure that they were structurally sound. His Kaimukī Collective buddy Ray Lou got a PhD in Ethnic Studies, married a Sansei from Hawai'i, and moved to California to teach at San Jose State University, where he coordinated the Asian American Studies program.

During the 1970s and beyond, Kanaka 'Ōiwi leaders like Davianna Pōmaika'i McGregor, Pete Thompson, and Trask were supported by a generation of local activists that included Gary Pak and his wife Merle, who worked with Larry Kamakawiwo'ole, Gwen Kim, Gary Kubota, and Claire Shimabukuro to produce *Huli!* (2020), a two-hour documentary about the Kalama Valley occupation; writer and novelist Rodney Morales, another now retired UH professor, who edited an anthology of writings about Hawaiian activist George Helm and the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (1985); White activists, like John Witeck and photographer Ed Greevey; and Richard and Mark Hamasaki of 'Elepaio Press. In the early 1980s, Richard and Mark, with Native poet Wayne Westlake, published Native and Indigenous Pacific literature, including Haunani-Kay Trask's poetry. I collaborated with 'Elepaio Press to publish translations of two classics of Native literature, *The Wind Gourd of La'amaomao* (1992) and *Lā'ieikawai* (2006), which Richard assigned to his students at Kamehameha Schools. (See "Publications of Kalamakū Press, 1990–2006.")

I met Haunani-Kay Trask at a dinner that Richard hosted at his house in Kāne'ohe for her and her partner, American Studies Professor David Stannard, both of whom were funny and engaging conversationalists. We joked about Honolulu Mayor Jeremy Harris (1994–2005) and Hawai'i's Governor Linda Lingle (2002–2010), members of a new White politician ascendancy backed by multiethnic coalitions. A while after that, Fujikane was a guest at another dinner at Richard's house. I sat at the dining room table, and she was sitting on the floor on the far-side of the living room with other guests, too far away to be a part of the dinner table conversation.

5.8

In "The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement," Trask recalls that some Non-native members of the Kaimukī Collective criticized the Kalama Valley protest because it was "predominantly Hawaiian,

not local," and "reactive and essentially unplanned (i.e. without Marxist ideology)" (136). In other words, it wasn't part of the global Marxist struggle of workers, whose goal was to overturn the capitalist economic system. Trask writes that by the 1980s, "the Left [e.g., the Kaimukī Collective] as a whole would express deep reservations about the growing presence of what they and others called 'Hawaiian Nationalism'" (136).

Trask and other Native activists also discussed the class division among Hawaiians:

> Class distinctions among Hawaiians had been the subject of much KKC [Kōkua Kalama Committee] debate over the several months of the struggle. The hows and whys of Hawaiian divisions along occupational, educational, and income lines were part of a larger exploration of the politics and structure of class society. The painful experience of class distinctions became the agonizing reality of class confrontation within the Hawaiian community itself. Not only was the Bishop Estate perceived as a Hawaiian trust evicting Hawaiian people, but the individuals who drove the bulldozers and carried away the "trespassers" were Hawaiian. The disappointment and sorrow that many of the KKC Hawaiians felt at seeing their own people evicted was heightened by the presence of Hawaiians on the side of the Estate and the City. (143)

"The individuals who drove the bulldozers" belonged to the same class as the evictees, that is, the working class.

Ethnic divisions also emerged during the protests. Some of the Hawaiians in the Kōkua Kalama Committee didn't want Whites to participate and told them to leave. John Witeck agreed with the exclusion, pointing out that it was a matter of self-determination for Native Hawaiians (144). Other Whites were disappointed. Surprisingly, back then, locals of Asian ancestry were tolerated as "locals." Trask points out, "later in the decade," "many Hawaiians [including her] would begin to distinguish themselves as 'natives' while perceiving other immigrants, both whites and Asians, as 'non-natives'" (146).

5.9

George Cooper, a naive White college student in his early 20s,

participated briefly in the Kalama Valley protest before the exclusion of Whites. In 1970, he came to Hawai‘i from the East Coast to attend the UH. Years later, in 2017, when he was participating in “land struggles” in Cambodia, Cooper was interviewed via email by Gary Kubota for the Kokua Hawaii Oral History Project. Cooper still sounded naive. He recalled that he probably met the Kōkua Kalama activists through anti-Vietnam War activist John Witeck, who, like Cooper, grew up on the East Coast near Washington D.C. and came to Hawai‘i to attend the UH (Hawaii Stories of Change 5). Cooper describes himself when he joined the Kalama Valley protest:

> At the time I started in that work my beliefs were very vague. They generally had to do with ideas of justice for the poor, for the abused, etc. I was so amazed when I first learned of the Kalama struggle that an entire valley of people was being evicted all at once, and by a trust set up to benefit Hawaiian children. I was similarly amazed as I learned the facts of other mass eviction situations in Hawaii, and of environmental destruction in such a precious place. I was stupefied that such things could happen. I felt strongly drawn to somehow help stop all this. (7)

In other words, he was ignorant about Native history and the history of Hawai‘i; however, he must have left Kokua Hawai‘i before Natives kicked out the Whites, because he says that he was happy that local activists seemed to accept him:

> I thought they were very principled, and well-organized. I was at first afraid they wouldn’t like me because I’m white, but that wasn’t the case at all. I liked all of this very much. They made me feel that I could contribute to the kind of work they were doing. It was like they opened the door for me to that work. ...
>
> The Kalama Valley struggle was a great personal turning point. As little involved in it as I was, it put me on a course in life that led to working in land struggles on Kauai and Oahu, to co-writing *Land and Power in Hawaii*, and to today working in land struggles in Cambodia. (6)

Kubota asked Cooper, “What did you gain and what did you lose as a result of participating in the anti-eviction struggle on Kauai?”

> I gained a sense of purpose in life. Kalama awakened me to a situation of serious injustice, and my work on Kauai made me see I could learn to work in ways to oppose that injustice.
>
> What I lost was some simple-mindedness about believing that all people who were being harmed by the evictions and environmentally-destructive development were honest, and that all people who came into those struggles to help had pure motives. (8)

Cooper credits Native activist Pete Thompson with showing him how to do the research on Hawai‘i’s history for *Land and Power in Hawaii*:

> Pete was the first person from whom I learned anything about how to research political and economic power in Hawaii. I can still remember going with him to what I guess was called “the Hawaii Room” or “the Hawaii Collection” in an old library [Sinclair Library] at the University of Hawaii Manoa Campus, and watching with fascination and learning as he researched the old Hawaii upper class for a lecture he was going to give in Ethnic Studies. (8)

In spite of Cooper’s claim that through involvement in “land struggles,” he “lost ... some simple-mindedness,” what his research produced, in co-authorship with UH history professor Gavin Daws, was a simple-minded view of Hawai‘i in the second half of the twentieth century. Cooper (and Daws) never realized that what happened was not simply a transfer of land and power from one group to another, but a transfer of land, power, and wealth from a small group of White Oligarchs and businessmen to a much broader multiethnic working class. (See “4. Post-War Ascendency and Prosperity: the Nisei Join Multiethnic Unions and a Multiethnic Democratic Party.”)

5.10

In “Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i,” Fujikane asserts falsely that groups of Asian ancestry who established the UH Ethnic Studies program during the protest at Kalama Valley excluded erased Native Hawaiians and their history while celebrating the rise of a Non-native working-class, that is “settlers” (2). (See

epigraph 1 above.) In a letter to the *Honolulu Weekly* (May 13, 2009), responding to Fujikane's false claims, MacGregor pointed out to Fujikane that Kānaka ʻŌiwi [Natives], not Asian Americans, led the multiethnic coalition to establish Ethnic Studies in 1971; and Kānaka ʻŌiwi formulated the slogan "Our History, Our Way," which included telling the story of Native Hawaiians. (For a history of the UH Ethnic Studies program, see Ibrahim Aoudé's *The Ethnic Studies Story: Politics and Social Movements in Hawai*ʻi.)

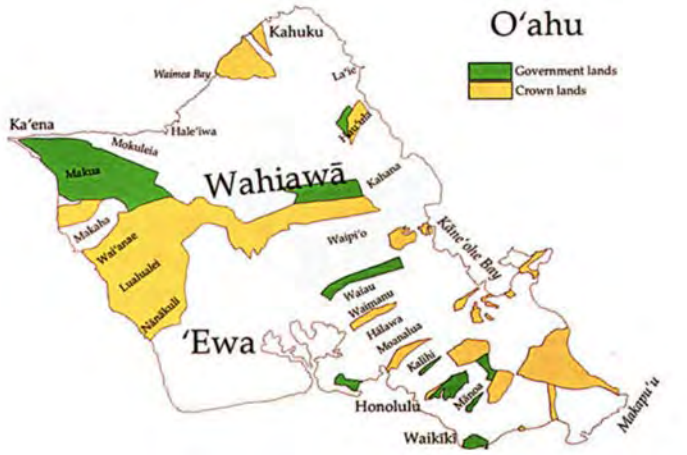
Attempting to support her false claim, Fujikane criticizes a 1976 Ethnic Studies poster whose caption praised the accomplishments of Hawaiʻi's working class. The poster read:

> "We working people of Hawaiʻi cultivate the land and harvest the sea. We build every home, harbor, airport and industry. Through the centuries we've fought loss of lands, evictions, low pay, unemployment, and unsafe working conditions. Yes, we working people struggled for and built Hawaii!" (Qtd. in "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawaiʻi" 2)

In criticizing the founders of Ethnic Studies, Fujikane mimics Trask's criticism of her false claim of a fictitious "local nation," as if the founders, like Fujikane, were claiming Hawaiʻi for Non-natives. Fujikane writes about the poster::

> In this and other accounts, the different ethnic groups lay a claim to Hawaiʻi by claiming the labor that went into building the plantation system, the industries, the roadways, the shopping centers, the schools, and new subdivisions—in short, the physical manifestations of U.S. settler colonialism in Hawaiʻi. (2)

Fujikane doesn't seem to know that the leaders and members of the working class included Natives. (See "4. Post-War Prosperity Spreads with the Rise of Multiethnic Unions Backing the Democratic Party and Statehood.") She also seems to think that the "physical manifestations of colonialism" were all built on lands that the Trask sisters and other Native activists claim for a sovereign Native nation, that is, lands in the Public Land Trust (PLT). However, if Fujikane, a self-styled "cartographer," had consulted a map of the PLT lands and privately owned land in Hawaiʻi, she might have noticed that much of the



Map of State of Hawai'i Public Land Trust on O'ahu: former crown lands in yellow; former government lands in green. Cartography by Carlos Andrade, 1997." Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i?* (Four pages of maps of the PLT on Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, Kaua'i, and O'ahu appear on pages 68—69.

development (urban and suburban housing, condominium and office highrises, and shopping centers, along with roads and bridges, and infrastructure for water, sewage, and electricity) took place on private lands acquired legally in the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the Republic of White Oligarchs, and the US Territory and State of Hawai'i, including lands owned by private trusts like the Pauahi and Campbell Estates.

Public facilities like airports, harbors, schools, and universities were built on PLT lands because the Organic Act of 1900, which established the Territory of Hawai'i and transferred the PLT lands to it, allowed for development on the lands for the public good. If the lands of the Public Land Trust were given to Ka Lāhui, the State and federal governments would still own public facilities that were built on PLT land. The State would have to negotiate rent for the PLT lands with Ka Lāhui, minus a portion of the rent for the use of facilities by Natives. Other rights, such as water rights and fishing rights would also have to be negotiated. The negotiations would be complicated, as have been the ongoing negotiations to determine the fifth of the revenues from the PLT that the State has agreed to pay the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. (For notes on what lands the PLT include, see subsection 2.31 in "2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in

Hawai‘i.”)

In her interview with the *Honolulu Weekly* (Seeto), Fujikane claims that because her earlier anthology Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i, published by Amerasia Journal in 2000, was criticized for being ahistorical, the new version, published by UH Press in 2008, “has more emphasis on history.” But Fujikane and the Asian Settlers Club’s “emphasis on history” amounts merely to misapplying Settler Theory from White scholars like Johnston and Lawson to the history of Hawai‘i, without examining historical evidence to determine if Settler Theory fits. (It doesn’t.) Because of their poor research skills, lack of analytical ability, and a commitment to misapplying Settler Theory, the Asian Settlers Club members misrepresent that history.

MacGregor rejects Fujikane’s version of Hawai‘i’s history: “Sadly, Fujikane’s statement ... labeling Asian immigrant workers and their descendants as colonial ‘settlers’ is ahistorical, narrow-minded, lacking in class analysis, and too simplistic to explain our complicated islands’ society.”

5.11

It’s also sad that “scholars” like Fujikane and Cooper who wanted to write in support of the Native Hawaiian Movement weren’t mentored by their professors, PhD dissertation advisors, colleagues in their departments and disciplines, and editors and editorial boards of publishers like Amerasia Journal and the UH Press; and cautioned not to publish or pontificate on topics they haven’t carefully researched. Perhaps the problem is that the university mentors didn’t know what their mentees were writing about because they weren’t knowledgeable about or familiar with Native Hawaiian history and culture.

Fujikane’s English and Asian American Studies dissertation advisors at the University of California at Berkeley had no clue that the notion of a “local nation” would be offensive to Native Hawaiians and would trigger Trask’s outraged attack on Fujikane, which then led a guilt-ridden Fujikane to fabricate a second myth to atone for her promotion of the first one. One of Fujikane’s dissertation advisors, Sau-Ling Wong, was my supervisor when I was lecturing in the Asian American Studies department at Berkeley, from 1986 to 1988. Back then, from my experiences with Asian American students and scholars at Berkeley and from my earlier experiences with them in graduate

school at the University of Washington from 1975 to 1979, I knew that most Asian Americans, along with most Whites, were clueless about Native history and culture. I'm sure if Sau-Ling had known how Natives would react to Fujikane's claim of a "local nation," she would have advised Fujikane not to use that term in her dissertation or in her earlier article, and asked her for revisions before approving the dissertation.

My PhD dissertation committee at the University of Washington in 1988 probably hadn't read most or all of the works of Japanese American literature about which I wrote. Young scholars in new, obscure fields of research have to depend on their own academic integrity and rigor. When those fail, all we can do is regret, retract, and repent; and also, hopefully, in subsequent publications, revise misconceptions and errors after more carefully and thoroughly researching the topics about which we write.

5.12

I wrote a PhD dissertation on Japanese American literature because I wanted to learn more about the Issei and Nisei generations of my grandparents and parents. When I returned to my teaching position in Hawai‘i in 1988, however, I thought teaching Hawaiian literature was more important for the State's schools and colleges than teaching Japanese American or Asian American literature. While lecturing in the Asian American Studies department at UC Berkeley, I researched Native American, Black, and Chicano literature, culture, and history to teach a multicultural reading and writing course (1987–1988). I realized the value Native American literature had for Asian American students at Berkeley because it provided an entirely different world view and view of American history than did other American literatures, including Asian American, Chicano, and Black literature. Why not assign some readings from Native Hawaiian literature to students in Hawai‘i's schools and colleges to give the students a Native perspective on Hawaiian history? I thought that Native history and literature were important because the students in Hawai‘i and America were living and going to school on lands that were once the homelands of Natives.

In over two decades of schooling in Hawai‘i, from the 1950s to the 1970s, I hadn't been assigned to read any Hawaiian writer, even though Natives made up 16% of the population in the 1960s and were in the islands for two thousand years, long before the other ethnic groups

arrived. During the 1970s and 80s, young Hawaiian poets like Wayne Westlake, Dana Naone Hall, and Joseph Balaz began publishing works, so I knew I could assign and teach a selection of those contemporary works, but traditional Hawaiian literature was rarely assigned, so I began researching, editing and publishing collections of traditional literature in translation to make them available to the multiethnic students and teachers in Hawai‘i’s schools. (See “Toward an Authentic Local Literature,” “Publications of Kalamakū Press, 1990–2006,” and “Bamboo Ridge and Beyond”). My advocacy for teaching Native literature was met with skepticism or even opposition from both Whites and writers and scholars of Asian ancestry, some of whom argued that Hawaiian literature didn’t exist, or Hawaiian stories didn’t have any literary value. One (my White department chair) told me that by advocating that Hawaiian literature be taught, I was infringing on the right of other professors (mainly White and assimilated Asian American) to teach whatever they wanted to teach to their students (which was usually what they themselves had been taught). In 2001, I published “Local Mythologies, 1979-2000” in response to some of the critics.

In 1992, the UH English department hired a professor to teach courses in Asian American literature, in imitation of English departments on the continent, so as not to fall too far behind what it perceived as superior continental universities that had begun offering such courses in the previous decade. In 1995, Fujikane was a second hire to teach Asian American literature. In 1997, she taught a course titled “Ethnic Literatures of Hawai‘i,” which included Hawaiian literature, and which was originally taught in the Ethnic Studies department by poets Wayne Westlake and Richard Hamasaki during the 1980s. Back then, the English department refused to allow a university course to be called “Ethnic Literature,” because, according to some of the professors, there was no such thing (or at least they had never heard of it). While “Ethnics” (i.e., writers of Native and Asian ancestry) were capable of writing sentences, what they wrote wasn’t “literature.” To get approval from the English faculty for the course, the Ethnic Studies department had to re-title it “Ethnic Writings of Hawai‘i.” (How about “Ethnic Scribblings of Hawai‘i”?) When Fujikane revived the course in 1997, ten years after it was offered in the Ethnic Studies department, the English department allowed the course to use its original title, “Ethnic Literatures of Hawai‘i.”

It was a decade later, in 2007, that the English department hired

a scholar to teach courses in Hawaiian literature in translation, recognizing that there was such a thing, and it had some literary value.

Meanwhile, during the decade of the 1990s, Asian Americans on the continent started reading “local literature” by writers of Asian ancestry in Hawai‘i, after pidgin-English poets and writers like Lois Ann Yamanaka attracted some national recognition. Yamanaka became part of the contentious cultural debate in Hawai‘i, when she was accused of stereotyping Hawaiians and Filipinos. (See Fujikane’s “Reimagining Development and the Local in Lois-Ann Yamanaka’s *Saturday Night at the Pahala Theatre*.”) However, Asian Americans on the continent remained mostly clueless about Native Hawaiian history, culture, and literature, even though they wanted to be supportive of Native Hawaiian initiatives.

5.13

Around 1994, a national conference was held in Los Angeles for representatives from federally funded programs for Asian and Pacific Islander Americans, and since the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) had received a multi-year federal grant from the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program, it was invited to attend. The federal funding was delivered by Hawai‘i’s congressional delegation led by Senator Inouye. The conference wasn’t particularly relevant to PVS, but since PVS was federally funded, it needed to show face. President Pinky Thompson and his son, navigator Nainoa, were too busy to attend, Pinky with his duties as trustee of the Pauahi Estate, and Nainoa with managing PVS’s federally funded project, which included building a voyaging canoe out of traditional materials and sailing it to and from an ancestral homeland in the Isles of Hiva (the Marquesas). Pinky and Nainoa decided to send me to the conference since they had hired me in 1993 to develop educational materials for PVS and to assist Nainoa with the logistics of programs that included hands-on experiences on a coastal sailing canoe for high school and college students, and land activities for students in elementary and middle school. (See “Twenty-five years with the Polynesian Voyaging Society, 1992–2017.”).

I traveled to LA with a group of Hawaiians representing other federally funded programs for Natives. The group was led by Keone Nunes, a tattoo artist who later became a master of kākau uhi—traditional Hawaiian tattoo using ink made from kukui nut soot and a

Keone and his students. Photo from Chung's article. Keone Nunes is seated third from the left. Keli'i Mākua, his top student, is seated fifth from the left. Photo courtesy of kākau uhi student Kamali'ikūpono Hanohano (seated between Nunes and Mākua).

tapping stick whose "teeth" is made from the bone of a mōlī (Pacific albatross). Keone studied the art under Sua Suluape Paulo, a Sāmoan tātau master, and eventually established a school to train other kākau uhi artists (Chung, "Kākau Uhi: Traditional Hawaiian Tattoos"). I was surprised to learn from Chung's 2021 article that Keone "currently lives in Thailand and is not practicing kākau as much as he once did."

A former cultural officer for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, in 1994 Keone was the Hawai'i coordinator for federal programs for Asian and Pacific Islander Americans. He also served as a protocol officer for the voyaging canoe Hōkūle'a. Keone told me his mother was Japanese, so his father (guessing from his last name and appearance) was Hawaiian-Portuguese. He was a former linebacker at Wai'anae High School who played college football at Grambling State University in Louisiana. When we were in crew training for Hōkūle'a, I hired him to tattoo my two ankles. (He used copper-tinted ink and a modern tattoo gun and needle.) One design was for protection against shark bites if I were ever afloat in the open ocean; the other was of a land-finding bird to guide me home if I were ever lost at sea.

At the conference in LA, the Native Hawaiian delegates were unhappy about the way the coordinator, an Asian American from the continent, viewed and treated them as just another American minority group. When the coordinator came to talk with them about why they were unhappy, I could tell that she had no idea what she was doing wrong. I couldn't help but smirk at her ignorance, which she noticed, got offended, and insulted me by calling me "smug," which I was, but only because she was acting like a commander who knew what she was doing when I knew she didn't. I internalized the smirk and remained silent because the Native group was doing an excellent job of explaining their position, and it wasn't my kuleana to get involved in the dialogue.

When the coordinator left, however, I could tell from what she told the Natives that she was still clueless. For the presentations on the final day, she told the Natives to cut the cultural protocol that Keone had prepared for the presentation because it would take up too much time. In lieu of their presentation, the offended Natives staged a walk-out from the conference hall in front of puzzled Asian American onlookers. After the walk-out, a Japanese American woman from Hawai'i representing a federally funded health program asked me, "What was that all about?"

If the purpose of the conference was to get Asian Americans and Native Hawaiians to share ideas and fellowship and work together, it failed.

5.14

So let us not talk falsely now, the hour is getting late ...

—"All Along the Watchtower," Bob Dylan (1967)

By 2000, Native activists like Haunani-Kay Trask had made Asian Americans more aware of the differences between Natives and Non-natives. Fujikane and Okamura's first anthology *Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i* was published that year by the UCLA Asian American Studies Center's *Amerasia Journal*. In the preface to the anthology, Russell Leong, chief editor, explained how the journal had changed its views on Native Hawaiians: "The claiming of 'local' identity or culture by Asian settler groups should not be confused with struggles of the Hawaiian people for their land, water, and other economic and legal rights" ("To Our Readers: Pacific and Native Hawaiian Studies in *Amerasia Journal* 1971–2000," vii).

Not many locals in Hawai‘i who worked with Hawaiian organizations and groups were confused about the differences, but a new generation of local Asian Americans seemed to be, especially Yonsei like Fujikane who were assimilated by Hawai‘i’s schools and went to mainland colleges for further assimilation by Asian American professors. These “locals” from Hawai‘i knew little about the complexities of Hawaiian history and local politics, and neither did the continental Asian American scholars and activists by whom they were taught and mentored. Leong, like Fujikane, could only regurgitate what he read about “Asian settler groups” in Trask’s “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony.”

In 2000, Asian American Studies was a relatively new academic discipline. From what little I’ve read by scholars of that period while researching “The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i,” it appears as if it was okay in the discipline to make stuff up to get published; also, the discipline seemed to be an echo chamber, where “scholars” repeated each others’ errors without doing research or analyses to verify the accuracy of claims. Reading the articles by Asian American Studies “scholars” of that era, I understood what Alice experienced after following the White Rabbit down its hole at the beginning of Lewis Carroll’s children’s fantasy *Alice in Wonderland*.

Scenes from *Alice in Wonderland* (1865). **Left**: A hookah-smoking Caterpillar asks Alice, “Who are you?”; **center top**: the mysteriously appearing and disappearing Cheshire Cat: “We’re all mad here. I’m mad. You’re mad”; **center bottom**: at a tea party with March Hare, Dormouse, and the Mad Hatter: “Have you guessed the riddle yet?”; **right**: the Queen of Hearts: “Off with their heads!”

That *Amerasia Journal* published *Whose Vision?: Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i* suggests that at the time, it accepted poorly researched political rhetoric by writers who weren't paid in dollars, but in scholarly credits for promotion and tenure. Ditto for the editors of the University of Hawai‘i Press, which eight years later published *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*. Such publishers can't be depended on to fact-check what they publish, so readers have to fact-check for themselves. Fact-checking the purveyors of the myth of Asian Settler Colonialism (or anyone who writes and publishes a lot, including me) is like playing the arcade game "Whac-A-Mole." Fact-checking requires a time-consuming, tedious review of multiple sources and checking the credibility of the authors. Errors keep popping up until you run out of time. I feel bad for young scholars today who write articles and dissertations citing publications by university presses, assuming that what they read is documented and reviewed and doesn't need to be fact-checked.

5.15

By the second decade of the twenty-first century, the "Fear-the-Jap-Takeover" rhetoric that the Asian Settlers Club began purveying at the start of the century to support the Native Hawaiian Movement was becoming less effective as an emotional appeal to anger or guilt because the presence of Japs in positions of power in Hawai‘i was diminishing. By 2024, the percentage of State legislators with Japanese surnames declined to around 34%, from 60% in 1980 and 67% in 1960. (See *State of Hawaii House of Representatives, 50th Anniversary of Statehood, August 21, 1959 to 2009* and *55 Years of Statehood: A Chronicle of Legislative History, Hawai‘i State Senate, 1959–2014*. Some of the legislators with Japanese surnames may be mixed or married to husbands of Japanese ancestry. Only half of Hawai‘i Congressional delegation of four was of Japanese ancestry (Senator Mazie Hirono and Representative Jill Tokuda); the other two were White (Senator Brian Schatz and Representative Ed Case).

The diminishing political presence of Japanese Americans was demographically predictable four decades earlier. In 1984, Kotani wrote, "the sun was already setting on the AJA [Americans of Japanese Ancestry] domination of the State" (*The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle* 174). Cooper and Daws noted the following year,

"it seemed clear by the mid-1980s that the political establishment created by the 'Democratic revolution' was looking less and less able to sustain and perpetuate itself in its old form" (*Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* 457). The Nisei war veterans and college graduates who became politicians were aging, retiring, and dying; and the percentage of residents of Japanese ancestry among voters was also declining, as was their overall population, due to a low birthrate and outmigration. There was no new large group among the next generations of Japanese ancestry that would, could, or wanted to "dominate" the State politically or economically, although a few individuals tried. The post-war Nisei political push resulted from a particular and unique moment in the history in Hawai'i, when a large generation of one ethnic group, with similar backgrounds and experiences, came of age together, went to war, then college, and were motivated to join unions and enter politics.

5.16

If a symbolic or mythic ending to "Japanese American ascendancy" is needed, the tragic demise of astronaut Ellison Onizuka (1946–1986), from Kona on the Big Island, might fit. After graduating from Konawaena High School and the University of Colorado, he became a test pilot in the US Air Force, then, in 1985, the first American of Japanese ancestry to reach space. In 1986, the rocket carrying the space shuttle in which he was riding blew up soon after take-off, and he perished, on live TV, along with the six other astronauts, five White, including two women, and one Black. When I saw the tragic event on TV, I associated it with David Bowie's song "Space Oddity": "Ground control to Major Tom / Take your protein pills and put your helmet on / Commencing countdown, engines on / Check ignition and may God's love be with you ...." Onizuka had ascended far higher than any Asian American before him, at least bodily.

When "Space Oddity" was released in summer 1969, I was preparing to launch my own ascent. Mom asked a former kitchen supervisor at the hospital where she worked to hire me as a busboy and dishwasher at the International Inn near the Honolulu International Airport (renamed Daniel K. Inouye International Airport in 2016). I wanted to earn money to move into a rented house with four high school friends, for my first semester at the UH. Only one of them was

going to attend the UH with me; the other three were going to find jobs. I needed $25 a month to cover my fifth of the rent for a termite-eaten three-bedroom house in Kaimukī.

That summer and fall, we listened to rock-and-roll music, smoked marijuana, and took psychedelic trips on LSD, inspired by Bowie's "Space Oddity" (1969):

This is Major Tom to Ground Control
I'm stepping through the door
I'm floating in a most peculiar way
And the stars look very different today ...

Our anthem for that heady time was, of course, Jimi Hendrix's "Purple Haze" (1967):

Purple haze all in my brain
Lately things don't seem the same
Actin' funny and I don't know why
'Scuse me while I kiss the sky ...."

The Apollo Mission's landing on the moon was shown live on TV while I was washing dishes at the International Inn. It recalled the delight I felt, like the Little Dog in "Hey diddle diddle!" when "the cow jumped over the moon." I was amazed at how high a cow could get.

In the winter of 1970, my mom took her three children to visit the ancestral homeland and our grandparent's hometowns in Hiroshima Prefecture. After that trip, I felt grounded again and inspired, ready to spend a lifetime researching and writing about growing up in Hawai'i and about Japan, our family's ancestral homeland.

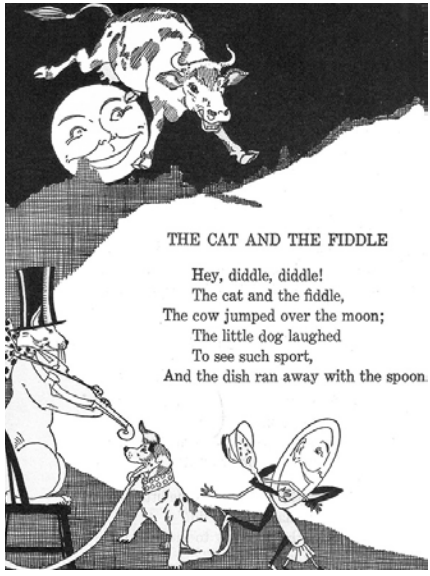

THE CAT AND THE FIDDLE
Hey, diddle, diddle!
The cat and the fiddle,
The cow jumped over the moon;
The little dog laughed
To see such sport,
And the dish ran away with the spoon.

Illustration by Christopher Rule, *Little Folks' Mother Goose*, 1931

In an interview on the tenth anniversary of the Space Shuttle tragedy, Lorna Onizuka, Ellison's widow (1949–2024), asserted, "It was negligence …there were people who made bad decisions" (Creamer, Honolulu Advertiser, January 28, 1996). The engineers who built the rocket boosters at Morton Thiokol in Utah knew that the rubber O-rings that sealed the joints between different segments of boosters hadn't been tested in cold weather, and could leak heat on take-off in such weather, with catastrophic results. On January 28, the morning of the launch, the weather was freezing cold, and the Morton Thiokol engineers recommended against the launch. The company executives, however, reversed the recommendation, so as not to upset the NASA leadership, which wanted to prove to America that the shuttle was the future of space travel. They had assigned the first civilian astronaut to the shuttle crew, school teacher Christa McAuliffe, to show how safe it was (Short Wave, "Lessons and failures from the Challenger space shuttle explosion," NPR, January 30, 2026). A delay to wait for warmer weather would make NASA look bad. On the other hand, Lorna Onizuka recalled that her teenage daughter begged her dad not to go because "icicles on the outside railing scared her" (Creamer).

5.17

By the mid-1980s, Cooper and Daws note that in-migrating Whites, mainly transplants from the mainland, represented "a growing percentage of the population" that "would be applying their own pressures to the real estate market, purchasing apartment units and house lots, and in some cases investing in development" and would "give a new tilt to the old ethnic balances, even to suggest something of an emerging new power bloc in politics" (458). Whites, of course, had been buying property and houses and investing in development since the nineteenth century, and dominated the government in the second half of that century and the first six decades of the twentieth..

In "The Census Shows Hawaii Is Diverse" (2023), Fujikane's co-editor Okamura reports that the 2020 US census identified Whites of unmixed and mixed ancestry as "the largest group in Hawaii at 609,215, or 41.9% of the population"; and that it had been the largest group "since statehood in 1959." Of those 609,215 White residents in 2020, 337,184 identified themselves as Whites of unmixed Western European ancestry, which was more than the number of Hawaiians or

residents of Japanese ancestry (*State of Hawaii Economic Data Base*).

Residents of Filipino ancestry were the second-largest group at 383,200 (223,205 unmixed and 159,995 mixed), comprising 26.3% of the population. According to Okamura, Filipinos were the largest group of new immigrants to Hawai‘i annually. Cooper and Daws didn’t anticipate or mention their growing residency in the islands.

Native Hawaiians, mixed and unmixed, were the third largest group, numbering 317,497, or 21.8% of the population, “despite ongoing kanaka migration to the continental U.S. where they outnumber those in Hawaii” (Okamura).

Residents of Japanese ancestry, unmixed and mixed, numbered 312,668, or 21.5% of the population, the fourth largest ethnic group, down from largest at 43% in 1920, after which their percentage of the total began declining, to 37% in 1940, 32% in 1960, and 25% in 1980. It’s unlikely that a resurgence of immigration from Japan would repopulate the community of Japanese ancestry in Hawai‘i. The worship of the rabbit of fecundity at Okazaki Shrine in Kyōto apparently has been slowly losing its appeal, with the fertility rate in Japan declining since the 1950s and its population shrinking since 2008. Japan doesn’t have surplus workers to send to Hawai‘i anymore; it began recruiting alien workers from East, South, and Southeast Asia to address its labor shortages in critical occupations while, predictably, anti-foreigner sentiment among its citizens is on the rise.

Despite the decline of residents of Japanese ancestry in Hawai‘i, anti-Jap rhetoric probably won’t disappear entirely, no matter how small a percentage the population of Japanese ancestry represents, as the fear and loathing of Japs has been deeply embedded in the American psyche, planted by the “Yellow Peril” rhetoric of the nineteenth century, which began with the arrival of the Chinese on the West Coast, and nourished after the Pearl Harbor debacle at the end of 1941. That year, out of a population of almost 10 million on the West Coast, there were only 120,000 residents of Japanese ancestry (1% of the total); still, a virulent outbreak of “Yellow Peril” and “Fear the Jap” triggered the West Coast expulsion of all of them. (For notes on the anti-Chinese movement, see subsection 2.15 in “2. The Fabrication of Nineteenth-Century Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i”; for notes on the West Coast expulsion, see subsection 3.53 in “3. Issei, Citizens of Japan, and their Nisei Children in the US Territory of Hawai‘i.”)

5.18

While Trask views the outmigration of Natives as an indicator of their dispossession, many Non-natives, especially in the middle class, see outmigration as ascendancy to a better life. Natives who view Non-natives as colonizers and oppressors might welcome their outmigration, with bon voyage and good riddance. Non-native ethnic groups might feel that way about each other, too, based on their prejudices.

Unfettered by indigeneity, Issei workers in Hawai‘i began moving to the US continent when they acquired the right to do so in 1900, drawn by higher wages. Despite the periodic anti-Jap outbursts on the West Coast, the Nisei also moved there before and after World War II, for better job opportunities, higher wages and salaries, and a lower cost of living and housing. Later, the Sansei and Yonsei also left the islands, for the same reasons; and their parents and grandparents followed, to be closer to their children and grandchildren.

More of my father’s siblings and their children and grandchildren live on the continent than in Hawai‘i. The family outmigration started before the war when Dad’s oldest sister went to LA to get married to a Nisei produce market manager before World War II. She was followed by a younger sister who went to LA for college just before Pearl Harbor. Both were expelled from their LA homes by the US government and relocated to the Midwest during the war, but moved back to LA after the war. After the war, another sister, who graduated with a teaching degree from the University of Hawai‘i, joined her two sisters in LA and found a teaching job and got married; their youngest brother, after post-war service in the US Army, went to college in LA, got married, and settled there.

My mom and her five siblings stayed in Hawai‘i but four of them moved away from the family home in Hilo to Honolulu for better career opportunities. Their family migration beyond Hawai‘i started with their children. One-third of the children moved to the continent and started families there. Of the ten cousins who remained in Hawai‘i, six didn’t marry or have children.

Many of Japanese ancestry aren’t attached to Hawai‘i as a home. For them, Hawai‘i has been, is, or will become a place of transition. The core population committed to Hawai‘i as a homeland, and the core culture of Hawai’i has been, will be, and should remain, hopefully, the

population of Native ancestry and the Native culture.

5.19

Do many Yonsei identify themselves as "Settlers"? I don't know because I don't associate with the purveyors of Asian Settler Colonialism, or read their articles and books, or attend Asian American Studies conferences. I read Fujikane's 2008 essay only after she insulted me in an email to a Native colleague, who forwarded the email to me, which provoked me to write two responses. (See subsection 1.21 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected Idea' ....") In order to respond fully to Fujikane's insult, I was forced to read the writings of the Asian Settlers Club. It wasn't enjoyable reading. On the other hand, as part of the research for fact-checking their writings, I was delighted to discover the writings of Masayo Duus, Eiichiro Azuma, Manako Ogawa, Duncan Ryūken Williams, and others, who taught me things I didn't know about the Issei and Nisei generations in Hawai'i. My research also led to new discoveries about Native Hawaiian history.

The legacy of my grandparents wasn't a dream of becoming citizens in a White colony, settling permanently, and acquiring political and economic power to oppress Natives. My grandparents never became citizens of the State and didn't assimilate into it. They maintained their own language, religion, and traditions, and passed them on, as best they could in a foreign country, to their children and grandchildren.

Their children and grandchildren attended Eurocentric American schools and universities whose mission was to Americanize and assimilate their students. Assimilation through education was reinforced by mass media—TV programs, movies distributed through theaters, music played on radio stations and phonographs. The inundation is even more intense today, with social media on computers, tablets, and phones. However, because of my grandparents' and parents' influence and upbringing, I never believed that White American and European culture was superior to other cultures. From personal research I did during and after college, I came to appreciate and value Japanese and Hawaiian cultures because they were a better fit with the values and beliefs of my upbringing—Hawaiian and Japanese culture for their family and environmental values, and Buddhism for beliefs about the end. Many residents of Asian ancestry resisted assimilation as I did; many others succumbed to it. One of my Sansei high school friends who went to college on the East Coast told me that when he looked at

his face in the bathroom mirror in the morning, he wanted to wash it off. What would he replace it with, a White Face?

5.20

While I was born a US citizen, I know that US citizenship didn't protect my dad's two sister and my mom's brother from the government's arbitrary, racist detention and relocation of them during World War II; and being a legal, law-abiding, tax-paying resident alien like my two grandfather didn't protect them from being arrested and imprisoned as enemy aliens. When ill political winds start blowing, people, especially Non-whites, should take precautions, or in some cases, take cover, no matter what their citizenship or residency status.

Trask criticized the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) for Trask criticized the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) for supporting US Senator Inouye during her and her sister Mililani's dispute with him over Hawaiian sovereignty ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 7–11); but the Trask sisters had little reason to worry about the JACL's opinion, because the organization has little influence or credibility in the community of Japanese ancestry, especially among those who know JACL history. During World War II, it cooperated with the US government's expulsion of the 120,000 West Coast residents of Japanese ancestry. Since then, at least, in my family, the title "citizen" hasn't been highly regarded, and they had zero interest in belonging to an organization calling itself a "Citizens League," or in reading its opinions on any issue.

I know the JACL has become a more "liberal" organization, advocating for redress for the US citizens of Japanese ancestry who were expelled from their homes, and supporting Civil Rights for all citizens during the American minority protests of the 1960s and 70s; but when its big test came during the war, when the community really needed its leadership to resist the US government's racist relocation program, the JACL failed. I agree with its support of civil rights and indigenous rights globally, but when we were growing up, my friends and I used the word "citizen" pejoratively, with a sneer, to refer to flunkies who follow blindly and obediently whatever the government tells them to do.

As an aside, the Trask sisters did an excellent job of defending themselves against the JACL and other Japanese American attackers

who sided with Senator Inouye after Mililani Trask called him a "one-armed bandit." Her use of the nickname alluded to Inouye's "stealing" sovereignty from Native Hawaiians, with his "twenty-year refusal to introduce federal legislation recognizing Hawaiians as Native peoples eligible for inclusion in the federal policy on recognized Native nations" (Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 8).

Haunani-Kay's explanation of how Inouye's nickname originated among his World War II Nisei buddies was a classic personal counterattack. The story of Inouye's stealing jewelry from dead civilians in Europe during the war and wearing it on the arm that was later blown off by a German grenade made me wonder about his upbringing. To describe what happened to Inouye, Trask uses the Japanese word "bachi" ("divine punishment" or "supernatural retribution that results from one's bad actions"), which resonated with readers of Japanese ancestry like me ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 7). Trask also knew that such personal attacks were beside the point, merely part of the heat of controversy (23, footnote 11).

5.21

My grandparents didn't convert to Christianity or believe in the Christian command in Genesis 1.28: "Be fertile and multiply, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on the earth'"—the White Racist Settlers mantra for "Manifest Destiny," expressing their belief that they were destined to rule the world, and justifying their taking of land for fifty American States from Native peoples.

My grandparents and parents never pushed me to get married, "multiply," or remain in Hawai‘i. They wanted me to get a good education, work hard, contribute positively to the community, enjoy the amenities that came from hard work, and find fulfillment, even if that meant moving to someplace other than where I was raised, just as my grandparents moved from their homes in Hiroshima to come to Hawai‘i to earn money to support their families back home.

It's hard to perpetuate political and economic dominance in a "local nation" or a Settler colony without having families with children who agree to become members of it.

5.22

If I didn't know I was going to die, I would mourn my passing... (paraphrase of a tanka by Ōta Dōkan, fifteenth-century Japanese warrior-poet and Buddhist priest)

No need to save myself — only an accident of time,
that sand-like substance.
(Jorge Luis Borges, "Hourglass")

During my adolescence and early adulthood in the 1960s and 70s, I thought the place where I grew up was the most significant element in my identity and sense of home, so I called myself "local." (See subsection 1.10 in "1. It Began with a 'Strangely Disconnected' Ideas ....") But after Mom passed away in 2020, I realized that Hawai'i felt like home mainly because she and Dad and their families were here. Now that many of them have passed on or moved away, I feel less at home in Hawai'i, or anywhere in the world. Identifying as a local has little meaning to me now; identifying as a settler has none.

Now I see myself as a transient rather than a local. Probably seminal to the ironic transformation was the decades-long research that produced *Summer Grasses, Autumn Wind* (2018), a translation of the Buddhist poet Bashō's Narrow Roads of the Deep North, whose theme is transiency. Toward the end of his life during the summer rainy season, after riding in a rice boat down the Mogami River westward, he compresses a metaphor for life into a seventeen-syllable poem: "amassing fifth-moon rains, swift Mogami River" (五月雨をあつめて早し最上川 / samidare o atsumete hayashi mogamigawa). For the poet, the days, months, and years are travelers like himself; and three generations pass "as if in a single night's sleep."

Identifying myself as local was important earlier in life, as it guided me through decades of reading and writing about the places where I lived and the people whom I knew. After Mom passed in 2020, I spent three years researching and writing about her life and times during the second half of the twentieth century, and the life and times of my grandparents during the first half. The research led me to expand my critique of Fujikane's myth of Asian Settler Colonialism beyond the nineteenth century.

Mom's passing also prompted me to I look ahead to my passing and to reflect on Bashō's Buddhist view of transient life. I first read

about Buddhism in high school, in a book Dad brought back with him from Kamakura, a center of medieval Japanese Buddhism he visited, about thirty miles south of Tōkyō, during the post-war Occupation. I continued reading about Buddhism during my college years. What stayed with me was a metaphor in a parable in the Lotus Sutra: each lifetime is a burning house, built of illusions, with each momentary illusion destroyed in the next moment by the fire of time until there are no moments left. Each moment is a once in a lifetime experience.

While Buddhism recognizes empathy and compassion as important in life, the fundamental teaching is detachment. Attachment to anything in this ephemeral world creates bondage and suffering, whether that attachment is to self, parents, children, family, wealth, power, property, home, nation, or homeland.

The Tale of Saigyō records that before the twelfth-century poet-priest Saigyō wandered off in search of Enlightenment, “he mercilessly kicked his daughter from the veranda,” and “though it pained his heart to do it, he ignored her cries and went inside” (28). The anecdote was apparently intended to illustrate detachment. I wouldn’t recommend imitating Saigyō, though. He should have taken care of and raised the child he brought into this world before leaving his family to live as a hijiri (聖, a wandering ascetic beggar-monk, literally, “holy one”). Nor do I believe that a person has to become a hijiri to live a life of detachment.

5.23

Fujikane and her Asian Settlers Club share a guilt for what they posit as the Original Sin of their ancestors—the fictitious settling and colonizing of Hawai‘i by the Issei. Like the descendants of Adam and Eve, doomed by the first Christian couple’s Disobedience to God in the Garden of Eden, these self-designated Settlers suffer the guilt of their Original Sin and have banded together to commiserate with each other and convert others to their guilt. (Japanese tradition has no concept of Original Sin; everyone is born innocent and pure, and they remain that way until hubris and selfish desires corrupt their thoughts and actions.)

In “Sites of Erasure: The Representation of Settler Culture in Hawai‘i,” published in Fujikane and Okamura’s *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*, Stan Tomita and Karen Kosasa published fake mug shots of themselves as self-confessed, self-convicted Settlers.

"Colonial Crimes: Settlers in Hawai'i, 2006" ("Sites of Erasure" 204)

The photos are comical and pathetic. Posing as fake-convicts is not quit as courageous as resisting the draft and spending two years in prison as anti-Vietnam war protester Dana Rae Park did. (See subsection 5.6 above.) Perhaps not many Asian Americans have joined the Asian Settlers Club because it doesn't seem as if members have much fun, other than posing for and publishing fake mug-shots. The club is not like the Mickey Mouse Club of my childhood in the 1950s, when the cute, perky Annette Funicello and other White boys and girls sang and danced. Fujikane quotes Karen Kosasa about the grim responsibility of Asian Settlers, which is to avoid "hegemonic" behavior by "disentangling ourselves from the resulting amenities" of colonialism:

> As settlers, many of us are reluctant, even unwilling, to consider how the pleasures of everyday life—dining out, shopping in malls, watching television, and living in suburban communities—can be part of a larger colonial problem. How can these seemingly innocent activities be "hegemonic"? ("Sites of Erasure" 194)

For an answer to her question, Kosasa refers the reader to the epigraph of her essay, a quotation from Trask's "Feminism and Indigenous

Hawaiian Nationalism":

> As I say, everything Western is hegemonic in Hawai‘i: styles of speech, television, radio and film, clothing, dance, food, habits of daily life, and more. So, too, the monsters of concrete, high-rise urbanization, land development, mass-based tourism, naval and air force bases, and so on.

Kosasa informs us that disentanglement from everything Western is "no easy task." Not only is the task not easy, it's absurd and impossible, akin to the Eternal Punishment of Sisyphus. I don't know of anyone, other than Kosasa, Tomita, Fujikane, and other members of the Asian Settlers Club, and monks, nuns, and self-flagellant Christians and Buddhists, who sets disentanglement from "amenities" and "pleasures of everyday life" as a goal. Nor do I know of any Non-natives who ponder if they are being "hegemonic" and "part of a larger colonial problem" while they enjoy "amenities" like having lunch or dinner at restaurants with friends and colleagues, including Native Hawaiians; or when they stay home and watch television in a Settler State that everyone's ancestors helped to build and support by paying taxes.

5.24

In her *Honolulu Weekly* interview (2009), Fujikane claims that her anthology emphasizes "action to change the colonial conditions," and how to "free ourselves from the roles as agents in a colonial system of violence" (Seeto); however, I don't see how any actions that she or Kosasa suggests would lead to changing "colonial conditions." Fujikane asserts that shopping at Ala Moana Center is "colonial" because "such practices obstruct Hawaiians' struggle for justice" (Seeto). Does she really believe that not shopping at Ala Moana will "change the colonial conditions"? Many, even those who support "Hawaiians' struggle for justice" like me, must have found that notion "strangely disconnected."

I shop at Ala Moana occasionally to buy something I need, like a pillow case or a rug, and see Hawaiians shopping there, too, and also working there. Some of the shoppers are waiting perhaps, like I am, for Hawaiian leadership to work with the State and Federal governments to resolve the issues over the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i; others don't care or aren't aware there is an issue. No one seems particularly concerned that their shopping is obstructing "Hawaiians' struggle

for justice." Online, I could order fabric, needles, and thread from China and sew my own pillow case rather than buy one at Macy's or Nordstrom's. We learned how to sew aprons in the third grade from our teacher Mrs. Ah Choy, and I gave the one I sewed to Mom for Christmas that year. However, I don't think sewing a pillow case for myself now is going to help Native Hawaiians achieve sovereignty. Any pillow case I buy would probably have been made in China, Vietnam, or India, not in America, and buying it at Macy's might help pay the salary of a Native who works there.

Kosasa and Fujikane, of course, are simply following what Trask ordered them to do, when she wrote: "Non-Natives need to examine and reexamine their many and continuing benefits from Hawaiian dispossession" ("Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" 21). Like good disciples, the members of the Asian Settlers Club meekly comply with their Lord's command, out of guilt over their Original Sin. The burden of that Sin must be especially heavy for Settlers like Fujikane, Okamura, and Eiko Kosasa who work for the University of the Settler State of Hawai'i, earning salaries and accruing retirement benefits from it. Their self-examination hasn't led any club member to resign from their jobs.

Fujikane paraphrases the relationship of Non-natives to Natives, as stated by Karen Kosasa: "each Asian settler has a responsibility toward Native peoples" ("Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai'i" 12). "Responsibility," like a parent's to a child? I hope that's not what Kosasa and Fujikane mean because as MacGregor pointed out in her 2009 *Honolulu Weekly* response to Fujikane, the UH Ethnic Studies program was founded in the 1970s to demolish the condescending stereotype of Hawaiians as a childlike people for whom Non-natives need to take responsibility.

The members of the Asian Settlers Club confess and repent while awaiting a Savior—someone like Trask who might one day establish a land base and sovereignty for Native Hawaiians. But would that redeem club members and free them from the burden of their Original Sin? Would they no longer be "Settlers" and become merely Non-native like me, living on land owned by Non-natives? Or would they still be guilty of having accrued benefits and amenities from their former complicity in the Settler State and have to pay restitution for whatever they've accrued? Didn't they pay for benefits and amenities when they paid taxes that benefited everyone, including Natives; or will there be

a surcharge? Will the Settlers Club receive credits for having written essays in support of Ka Lāhui? Perhaps the bells of Kawaiha‘o Church will chime in honor of Fujikane when she retires, as they did for Takabuki? (Somehow, I doubt it.) If Ka Lāhui or some other sovereign state or land base is never established, would the Asian Settlers Club and their descendants have to suffer the guilt of their Original Sin in perpetuity? Or marry someone Native, so that their part-Native children (should they have any) have a choice of self-identifying as Natives if they want to?

5.25

In “Settlers of Color and ‘Immigrant’ Hegemony,” Trask warns Non-natives that Hawai‘i will be different when Natives reclaim the lands stolen by the overthrow of the Monarchy and US annexation and given to the US Territory, then the State of Hawai‘i:

> ... settlers will have to pay taxes or user fees to swim at Native-owned beaches, enjoy recreation at Native-owned parks, drive on Native-owned roads, fly out of Native-owned airports, educate their children at public schools on Native-owned lands, and on, and on. Above all, non-Natives will have to live alongside a Native political system that has statutory authority to exclude, tax, or otherwise regulate the presence of non-Natives on Native lands. (13)

She adds, “The potential shift here frightens non-Natives because it signals the political and economic ascendance of Natives. At the least, Native power means no more free access by non-Natives to Native resources” (13). I don’t know if other Non-natives are frightened by a potential shift because I haven’t asked anyone to speculate on what they thought Hawaiian sovereignty might bring about. A shift didn’t seem imminent to me. In 2019, Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor told a *Voice of America* writer:

> I’m very much in favor of reorganizing our government as a native people, not the government of the state of Hawaii as a whole, but the quest to reestablish an independent Native Hawaiian government within an independent Hawaii. But I don’t think that’s going to happen in my lifetime. (Hilleary,

"Native Hawaiians Divided on Federal Recognition")

Should Ka Lāhui be established, with fees, taxes, and restrictions for Non-natives, Non-natives could pay the fees and taxes (just as our alien ancestors did in the Hawaiian Kingdom and in the US Territory and State of Hawai'i); and abide by any limitations or restrictions placed on them when entering Native land. Or Non-natives could migrate elsewhere.

Afterword: In Memory of the Ancestors

Fujikane describes Native Hawaiian leaders as "under duress" when they sold land to Non-natives for plantation development in the nineteenth century and recruited migrant workers from Asia to make the plantations profitable. The migrant workers were also under duress when they left their homelands and entered a foreign country to live as aliens to earn money for their impoverished families back home. The Nisei were under duress when they volunteered to serve in the US Army during World War II, or when they complied with the draft, or with the US government's expulsion order to leave their homes.

Asian American scholars like Fujikane are also under duress to "publish or perish" in academia, so who can blame them for publishing whatever a publisher will print, including fabrications? Traditionally (or perhaps only ideally), a scholar's job was to research a topic carefully and publish what is defensibly true; but today, Asian Settler "scholars" publish so they can get tenured and promoted at their universities and earn salaries and pensions that will allow them to escape the kind of poverty that their migrant ancestors labored to escape.

Fujikane claims her myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i doesn't "dishonor the struggles of previous generations" (6). Actually, any misrepresentation or fabrication of the experiences, histories, and achievements of previous generations is disrespectful, and dishonors and insults them, including my grandparents and parents and their families who sacrificed a lot, faced prejudice and adversity and overcame them, worked hard and achieved a lot, and contributed a lot to the community, without subjugating or dispossessing Natives. I see my life as an extension of and a part of the fulfillment of my grandparents and parents' dreams, and also a part of the end of their dreams. I recorded our lives and times in writings and publications, and

dedicated them to my grandparents and parents for the upbringing and teachings that prepared me for a long journey through a contentious multicultural world.

The Asian Settlers Club's ingratitude toward family and ancestors brings to mind the ingratitude of a daughter who abandoned Mom. When Mom, eighty-eight years old, needed help with housework, shopping, baking, hobbies, meal preparation, and rides to medical and dental appointments, her daughter fabricated a grievance against her and disappeared, never to be seen or heard from again during the last seven years of Mom's life; Mom disinherited her.

Her daughter was bullied in public intermediate school and asked to be sent to a private school, where she apparently learned to aspire to assimilate and become a wannabe White Settler, that is, an Asian Settler. She married a White Settler from North Carolina, who had been a teacher at her private high school when she was a student there. They ascended to middle-class wealth in part because she acquired graduate educations at two private universities whose tuitions Mom took out loans and worked side-jobs to pay off.

As Mom aged, at the two family dinners her daughter showed up at each year, her daughter liked to boast, "Don't worry Mom, I'll take care of you." Her false promise reminded me of the promises made by the two ingrate daughters, Goneril and Regan, in Shakespeare's *King Lear*. Fortunately, Mom had two sons who were close to her, lived nearby, appreciated all she did for them, and took care of her until her passing. (See "2.5. A Daughter's Ingratitude," in *The Life and Times of Matsuko "Mitzi" Kawaharada*.)

* * * * *

You'll be the brightest star
The world has ever seen ...

— "San Andreas Fault," Natalie Merchant

Members of the Asian Settlers Club have been assimilated into Settler culture, which places a high value on being the first, or claiming to be the first, even when one isn't. Christopher Columbus supposedly "discovered" America in 1492, although Native Americans had migrated to and settled the North and South American continents over ten thousand years before he arrived. At the end of the fifteenth

century, motivated by greed, he sailed blindly westward on the trade winds trying to reach the East Indies and is credited with "discovering" America after he bumped into a land mass stretching 9,000 miles north to south, which he couldn't possibly have missed. He thought the island on which he happened to land (in the Bahamas today) was in the East Indies. On the island, he met and enslaved the Lukku-Cairi ("People of the Islands"), who had reached their homeland by dugout canoe long before him, but were wiped out after his arrival.

In 1778, Captain James Cook, sailing north from Tahiti, supposedly "discovered" Hawai'i two thousands years after Polynesians had discovered and settled the archipelago and, for a period of time, navigated their voyaging canoes, without modern instruments, back and forth over the 2,500 miles of open ocean between their home islands and Hawai'i.

To support Trask's and other sovereignty initiatives, all the Asian Settlers Club had to do was state that, given the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the US annexation of the islands, club members were in solidarity with thousands of Non-natives since the 1970s (and earlier) who resisted assimilation into the Settler State; supported the teaching of Native history, language, culture, and literature, so Natives could resist assimilation; worked for or volunteered with initiatives, programs, and projects to improve the well-being, education, and health of the Native community; and supported a sovereignty process in which Natives work out the terms of their self-determination with the Settler States of Hawai'i and America. But telling that oft-told story would make the Asian Settlers Club merely a small group of latecomers, not the Pioneers of Activism that they aspire to be; so instead, they fabricated something "new," their myth of Asian Settler Colonialism, to allow themselves to claim to be the first.

Settlers value being the first over listening to and learning from elders and ancestors, and acknowledging and valuing what has been accomplished by others before them. The Asian Settlers Club members don't seem to know much about their family histories. Perhaps it's not their fault because their parents may have been assimilated and passed on Settler culture and traditions to them; or too busy working to support their families and pay for their children's educations, and didn't have the time to pass on family stories, histories, and traditions to them; but inquisitive and persistent children could have gotten such stories from parents or grandparents by asking, or found the stories themselves

through research.

Told by assimilated "Asian Settlers," the myth of Asian Settler Colonialism is disconnected from both Asian and Hawaiian traditions, which are based on reverence for ancestors. In her *Honolulu Weekly* interview, Fujikane notes that she and her club members have been "accused of promoting 'yellow guilt'" (Seeto), which they do promote, although their appeal works only on those who are ignorant about the history of Hawai'i. "Yellow Guilt" is merely a recent Asian American variant of the racist "Yellow Peril" rhetoric (see subsection 5.17 above), which continues to infect the ignorant of all ethnicities, including those of Asian ancestries. The vaccine, treatment, and cure for the infection is knowledge.

Sources

Much of the research for *The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i* was done before I starting writing it, while I was researching and writing family histories covering over a century in Hawai‘i—of my mom (*The Life and Times of Matsuko "Mitzi" Kawaharada (1925–2020*) and her father and family (*The Life and Times of Gunichi Kuwahara (1888–1962*); and of my dad's parents and their family (*Makisō (1887-1953) and Harumi (1899-1999) Kawaharada*).

The Myth of Asian Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i also references my earlier writings—*Storied Landscapes: Hawaiian Literature and Place* (1999); *Local Geography: Essays on Multicultural Hawai‘i* (2004); *Roads of Oku Journey in the Heartland* (2015); *Summer Grasses, Autumn Wind: A Translation of Bashō's Narrow Roads of the Deep North* (2018); and *"A Contentious Multiculturalism": Reflections on Literature, Culture, History, and Education in Hawai‘i* (1994–2025).

Links to these and other related writings (e.g., "Publications of Kalamakū Press, 1990–2006)," "Twenty-five years with the Polynesian Voyaging Society, 1992–2016," etc.) can be found at my Wordpress website, *Pacific Journeys: Hawai‘i and Beyond*, at https://denniskawaharada.wordpress.com/2020/06/09/17223/.

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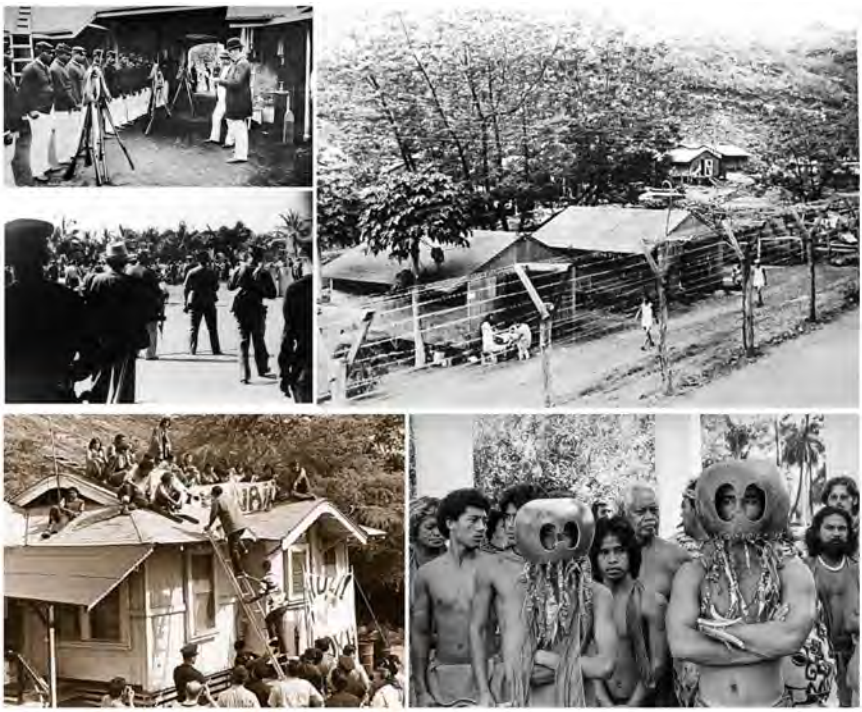

Mosaic Photos. ***Top left***: Queen Liliuokalani's Household Guard being disarmed by Col. John H. Soper, following the overthrow of the monarchy in January, 1893; ***middle left***: a multiethnic union protest led by Harry Kamoku in Hilo, 1938; ***top right***: a detention center for Japanese Americans at Honouliuli, 1942-1945; ***bottom left***: an activist occupation of Kalama Valley to protest evictions of residents, 1970; ***bottom right***: Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana, 1977 (photo © Ed Greevy)